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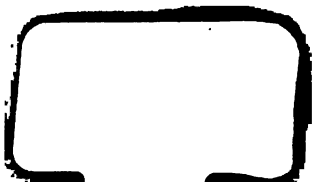

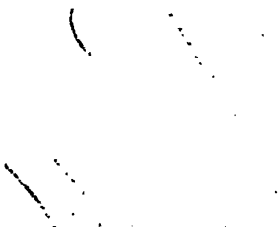

# A NEW GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE

*ÆRA OF THE ABOLITION*

OF THE

HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS

OF

*SUBJECTS IN SCOTLAND,*

IN THE YEAR 1748.

By ROBERT HERON.

VOLUME I.

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TO

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR

OF ULBSTER, BART.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
FOR THE COUNTY OF CAITHNESS,
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE
AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT,
AND
COLONEL OF THE ROTHESAY AND CAITHNESS
FENCIBLE REGIMENT;

*IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT*
FOR IMPORTANT INFORMATION
DERIVED FROM HIS
STATISTICAL COLLECTIONS;

*AND IN TESTIMONY*
OF THE MOST RESPECTFUL ESTEEM
FOR THOSE UNWEARIED,
AND SINGULARLY JUDICIOUS EXERTIONS,—
DIRECTED TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND
BY DISPASSIONATELY ENLIGHTENING THEM
CONCERNING THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTS OF INDUSTRY,
AND PUBLIC ŒCONOMY,—
THROUGH WHICH HE CONTINUES TO PROMOTE
THE TRUE INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY,
AND STILL MORE,
THOSE OF GENUINE PHILOSOPHY,—
PERHAPS MORE EMINENTLY THAN ANY OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES;

THIS
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
IS,
WITH HIS PERMISSION,
HUMBLY INSCRIBED
BY
HIS OBLIGED, AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,
ROBERT HERON.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

AN unexpected abundance of materials, and the neceſſity for thoſe diſcuſſions which are contained in the *Notes* to the *Firſt Book;* have obliged the Author to ſwell the firſt and ſecond books of this Hiſtory of Scotland, to the ſize of a volume.

The publication of this volume has been delayed to a time much later than was promiſed in the Propoſals, —on account of the reſearch and deliberation which have been found neceſſary in compoſing it.

A Diſſ-

A Diſſertation on the ancient languages of Scotland, England, and Scandinavia, will accompany the ſecond volume of this work.

A Critical Examination of the authenticity of the early monuments of our laws, and chronicles of our hiſtory, will follow the third book.

A New Map of Scotland, with a particular topographical memoir, will be given in the farther progreſs of this Hiſtory.

Edin. Oct. 24, 1794.

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# ADVERTISEMENT,

RESPECTING

## THIS FIRST BOOK.

IN this Book, I preſent to the Public, the reſult of extenſive and careful reading, and of much laborious inveſtigation concerning the moſt Remote Period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory,—in that Form, and Arrangement, in which my Information has appeared to me, the moſt likely to be read with intereſt, and to be eaſily and clearly underſtood, and decided upon.

But, although I think, that I have read much upon this Claſs of ſubjects; I am far from pretending, that, even upon theſe, others may not have read infinitely more. However laborious my inveſtigation; others may have enquired with an eye of keener penetration, with wiſer ſkill, and luckier felicity of reſearch. If even a Herodotus and a Livy have not rendered the ſtories of rude nations intereſting, without introducing the lofty forms of fable to dignify their ſcenes; and irradiating their obſcurity with the gorgeous colours of fancy: If later hiſtorians, diſdaining to debaſe truth by any alliance with the illuſions of fiction; and deſpairing, without ſuch aid, to give grace or utility to the ſcanty memorials of ſavage and barbarian life; have commonly abandoned to poets, genealogiſts, and antiquarians, the unlettered periods in the progreſs of the nations, whoſe tranſactions they have undertaken to relate: Alas! can I, then, without folly, flatter myſelf, that I may have ſucceeded, without the artifices of the Former, without the genius of either Claſs, in the performance of a taſk which has been declined by the prudence of the Latter!

I wiſh, that I could have faithfully followed, as I have attempted to do, the MORE CREDIBLE, ORIGINAL evidence of the facts in this period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory; without differing ſo WIDELY, and ſo PERPETUALLY from the ſyſtems of MODERN Enquirers. I ſhould have thought better of my own Diſcernment; if things had here appeared

peared to me, precisely such as they have been represented by others, whose industry and abilities I honour. As it is; I tremble to walk alone; yet, a conscientious reverence for Truth will not permit me, either to join the crowd, or even to select a Companion.

In the discussion of doubtful facts, in the Notes, I believe, I may have expressed less violence of passion, than has been displayed by several of those who have lately examined these same subjects. Some writers know not, to dispute, without scolding and calumniating their adversaries, in all the bitterness of rage: and there are readers, I doubt not, *wise* enough to find these the best, nay the only proper means for establishing the justness of any opinion. But, I, for my part, have never found, that I could distinguish truth with clearer vision, or seize it with a surer grasp, when I may have had the misfortune to be out of humour. And, I am perfectly satisfied, that a man may not be of the same mind as I, about many matters; yet, have neither cloven feet, nor asses' ears.

I have given no particular illustration of the topography of Roman-Scotland: Reserving this for a MAP; in which by the use of different lines, colours, literal and numeral characters, with the aid of a concomitant *memoir*, I hope to explain the varying topography of Scotland, for all the periods of my history, nearly as clearly as if a series of *maps* and *topographical discourses* were employed.

I have said little or nothing of the languages of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. But, it is because I am at present engaged in a philological enquiry into the radical distinctions and affinities of all the Gothic and Celtic tongues; the results of which, I mean to exhibit, in a short Essay, at the end of my first Volume.

EDINBURGH; Dec. 2d, 1793. R. HERON.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

## BOOK I.

### SECTION I.—CHAP. I.

Population of the Earth:

THE firſt ſeats of human ſociety were, moſt probably, in the weſtern parts of Aſia, and in the North Eaſt of Africa. Family feuds; the rambling ſpirit of the Savage; the want of the neceſſaries of life, which was ſoon felt at a time when men had hardly yet learned to till the ground, or to domeſticate the inferior animals; the impulſe of enthuſiaſm or ſuperſtition; the dread or the immediate preſſure of evils; and the hope of unknown advantages—operated as ſo many powerful cauſes, to diſperſe mankind, within the firſt two thouſand years of the age of the world, through almoſt all the habitable parts of the earth.

of Europe.

ADVENTURERS by ſea might be the firſt to people the ſhores of the Mediterranean, and the ſouthern coaſts of Europe. But, the hunter and the herdſman travelled northwards, from plain to plain, from foreſt to foreſt, from mountain to mountain; till they at length penetrated, on the weſt ſide, in-

Sect. I. Chap. I.

to the wilds of Muſcovy and Siberia, and into the deep foreſts of Scandinavia and Germany (A).

Trading nations viſit the weſt of Europe.

When the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks, the firſt commercial nations of antiquity, extended the adventures of their traffic to the weſtern ſhores of Europe; they found theſe already inhabited by various tribes whoſe deſcent and migrations were unknown to them, and of the exiſtence of many of whom they had before been ignorant.

Roman conqueſts:

The Romans conquered, as they diſcovered Iberia, Gaul, and Germany: Although their progreſs through theſe countries, was every where oppoſed by nations, neither deſtitute of policy, nor unpractiſed in military diſcipline.

Anno Ante C. 55.

At length, in the wantonneſs of conqueſt, they carried their arms into Britain. Cæſar, fearful of tarniſhing the luſtre of his former fame; had hardly

In Britain:

tried the proweſs of the inhabitants of this iſland, when he retired and left them, aſtoniſhed and humbled, indeed, yet not ſubdued (B).

A. D. 84.

In Scotland.

But, it was not till the reign of Domitian, that the Romans urged their conqueſts in Britain, northwards, into Caledonia. Agricola, the general of this Emperor, diſplayed the triumphant enſigns of Rome,

Rome, at the foot of the Grampian mountains. The various tribes of the native inhabitants in vain combined to oppoſe his progreſs. Nothing but the jealouſy of the Tyrant whom he ſerved, prevented him from penetrating to the moſt northern limits of Scotland, and from ſubduing all the Britiſh iſles. The ſcenes are ſtill diſtinguiſhed, on which the diſorder and the unſteady impetuoſity of the Caledonians yielded to Roman diſcipline and Roman firmneſs. The form and the limits of the moſt conſiderable northern Camp of Agricola, may be, yet, diſtinctly traced at *Ardoch* in Perthſhire. The wall afterwards extended in the ſame direction, only renewed and ſtrengthened that line of military poſts which he had eſtabliſhed between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, to protect the Roman Provinces from the incurſions of the indignant natives (C).

Beginning of the firſt period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory.

The *hiſtory of* Scotland, commences with the conqueſts of the Romans over its ancient inhabitants. The rude tribes, which thoſe conquerors here ſubdued or drove in flight before them, had no literary records by which the memory of their anceſtors might have been faithfully preſerved. The Romans were the firſt enlightened people to whom they became known. *The Life of Agricola*, by Tacitus, contains the firſt genuine pages of the Scottiſh hiſtory.

Sect. 1. Chap. 1.

mutually from the Scottiſh and the Iriſh ſhores. And, if the adjacent coaſts of Scandinavia were indeed peopled before the Celts or Belgæ could penetrate into the northern parts of Britain; we might, with ſome reaſon, conclude, that the firſt inhabitants of the ancient Caledonia, were a Scandinavian colony. At a later period in our hiſtory, the Danes and the Norwegians infeſted the Britiſh ſhores, and ſought ſettlements in this iſland. In theſe expeditions, they perhaps purſued a track, in which their anceſtors had, ſome centuries before, ſucceſsfully advanced.

State of facts.

Were we, on the other hand, aſſured, that the Caledonians who oppoſed Agricola, were not originally coloniſts from Scandinavia; we might confidently deduce them from South-Britain. But if on a wide continent, the progreſs of population be often more difficult and leſs natural by land, than by ſea; in an iſland it is almoſt always otherwiſe: And the ancient inhabitants, of the ſouthern, and the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Scotland were, therefore, moſt probably, Celts of Gallic origin. In vain ſhall we attempt to diſcover whether the firſt inhabitants of the preſent Galloway and Argyleſhire were from Ireland, or the firſt inhabitants of the North of Ireland, from Galloway or Argyleſhire. But, even in the deficiency of hiſtoric evidence which we lament,

ment, it can hardly be doubted, that the moſt northern extremities of Scotland, with the contiguous iſles, were firſt occupied by ſome adventurous emigrants, or ſhipwrecked fiſhermen from Scandinavia (E).

Conjectures inadmiſſible.

Such is the uncertainty of our knowledge concerning the origin of the firſt inhabitants of Scotland. Let us rather confeſs this uncertainty, than fondly embrace conjecture for hiſtorical truth; or deſert the paths of hiſtory, to entangle ourſelves hopeleſsly in the mazes of Antiquarian reſearch.

Agricola recalled.

A. D. 85.

Agricola's victories over the Caledonians, were too ſplendid not to move the jealouſy of Domitian. He was recalled before he could purſue the fleeing barbarians beyond the Grampian mountains, or accompliſh the conqueſt of Ireland, which he meditated. But he had conſiderably enlarged the limits of the Roman Empire, in this iſland. He firſt ſubdued the Britiſh tribes * in the North of the preſent England, as well as thoſe in the ſouthern diviſion of Scotland. Not content with fortifying the iſthmus between the Friths of the Forth and the Clyde, againſt the inroads of the yet free natives; he eſtabliſhed outpoſts, on the North-Eaſt and the North-Weſt

* All but the Caledonians, were Britons.

Sect. I. Chap. I.

Weſt quarters, by which the extent of almoſt another province was wreſted from its ancient poſſeſſors.

Conteſts between the Romans and Britons.

But, the Caledonians were a race too fierce and martial, to leave the Romans in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the conquered territories. For more than

A. D. 86.

thirty years from the time when Agricola reſigned his authority in Britain to Salluſtius Lucullus, the affairs of this iſland have been neglected by the Roman hiſtorians. We learn, only in general, that this was, in Britain, a buſy and turbulent period: the provincial Britons ſtruggling, from time to time, to recover their freedom; the free natives perpetually renewing their hoſtile inroads; the Romans ſtill repreſſing the efforts of both; yet, wearied out by the inceſſant conflict, and inſenſibly contracting the limits of their dominions.

A. D. 121.

At length, Adrian aſcended the Imperial throne. It was the policy of this emperor, to viſit in perſon,

Adrian in Britain.

the various provinces of his dominions, and to regulate their affairs by his own obſervations; not truſting to the information and advice of generals or miniſters. The ſtate in which he found Britain, induced him to relinquiſh a large extent of the exterior territory to the invaſion of the Barbarians of Caledonia, and to fortify thoſe provinces which were yet

yet defenſible, by an earthen wall, extended between the mouth of the river Tyne, and the Solway Frith.

Thus was all Scotland, in ſome meaſure, abandoned to the Caledonians and their Britiſh Allies; who had been encouraged by them to throw off the Roman yoke. But, what the neceſſities of one period, or the policy of one Emperor had made the Romans relinquiſh, a change of circumſtances or of counſels ſoon prompted them to reſume. Lollius Urbicus, the lieutenant of Adrian's ſucceſſor, reconquered the ſouthern diviſion of Scotland; and raiſed another earthen wall; for a barrier to protect his conqueſt; nearly in the ſame line in which Agricola had eſtabliſhed his fortified poſts, between the friths of the Forth and the Clyde.

Wall of Antoninus.

A. D. 138.

The Mæatæ, (the Britons inhabiting between theſe two walls), thus, by turns, loſt and recovered their freedom. But, they never reſted, in patient ſubmiſſion to the Roman yoke. In the reign of Antoninus, the Philoſopher, they again ſtruggled to expel their Foreign Lords. Their efforts were unſucceſsful; or were, at leaſt ſpeedily repreſſed by Calpurnius Agricola.

A. D. 101.

Calpurnius Agricola.

SECT. I. CHAP. I.

In the ſucceeding reign of Commodus, the Caledonians again burſt through the barrier which Lollius Urbicus had formed, to reſtrain their incurſions; excited the Mæatæ to join their expedition; and penetrated, with fierce impetuoſity, into the provinces beyond Adrian's wall. They were ſoon defeated and repulſed by Ulpius Marcellus. But Marcellus was ſucceeded by a ſeries of weak or baſe Commanders, hated or deſpiſed by their own troops, and unfit to guard the frontier of a declining Empire.

Ulpius Marcellus.

A. D. 180.

A. D. 193.

At length, Pertinax deſtined to die Emperor of Rome; and after him, Clodius Albinus, who alſo aſſumed the Purple, reſtored order and diſcipline among the Roman troops in Britain; and awed the incroaching Barbarians. But, the ambition of empire withdrew Albinus from the defence of the Britiſh frontier. The Caledonians renewed their incurſions; and were again ſeconded by the Mæatæ; who had, by this time, almoſt fully vindicated their independence. Virius Lupus, the governor whom Severus, victorious over Albinus, had ſent to ſucceed his fallen rival, in Britain; was forced to buy the retreat of the invaders with money, when he could not repulſe them, in arms. Secure of feeble oppoſition, and hopeful of levying from time to time, the ſame tribute which had been on cereluctantly

Albinus.

luctantly paid to them; the barbarous warriours of Scotland now continued to infeſt the Roman Provinces with inceſſant hoſtilities. Sect. I. Chap. I.

They were enemies not unworthy of Severus. Superior to the infirmities of age, he came into Britain, to aid the yielding Provincials. The country between the two walls, was the ſcene of many a ſkirmiſh, in which the natives with various ſucceſs, ſtrove to turn or to retard the progreſs of the Roman army. But, neither diſeaſe, nor the natural difficulties of the country, nor the valour or ſtratagems of its inhabitants could prevent Severus from carrying his victorious arms into Caledonia. The vanquiſhed Caledonians were glad to purchaſe peace by the ſurrender of their arms, and the ceſſion of a part of their territories. The laſt great work executed by Severus was, the erection of a ſtone-wall, twelve feet high, and eight in thickneſs; nearly in the ſame line of direction as the turf-wall of Adrian; and extended from near Tinmouth, on the eaſtern coaſt, to the Solway-frith, on the weſtern. A. D. 207. Severus. Wall of Severus.

Yet, the terror of Severus could not long overawe the fierce courage of the Caledonians and Mæatæ. Hardly had the dying emperor retired to York, when they renewed the war. Caracalla was ſent againſt them. But, in his anxiety, firſt to ſecure Caracalla.

Sect. I. Chap. I.

the succession to the empire, and then to enjoy the pleasures of Rome, he soon terminated by a Peace, those hostilities against the Caledonians, which he had, from the beginning, negligently prosecuted.

Domestic Transactions of the Caledonians.

Amid these contests between the Romans and the Free Natives of North Britain, many other transactions must have taken place among the inhabitants of this country; which remain unknown, because they passed unrecorded *. Opposing the Romans, the Caledonians fought *in the day*: those deeds which they performed in contests among themselves, or with rude savages like themselves, are *hid in darkness* †. Emigrations; the influx of new colonies; the extinction of some tribes, and the aggrandizement of others; the degradation and the exaltation of Chiefs; changes in policy, and fluctuations of manners; internal feuds, and wars with many of the neighbouring savages—must no doubt have filled up the rest of the history of this

* Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Hor. Ode 9. Lib. iv.

† Their circumstances remind us of the wish of Ajax:

Ζευ πατερ, αλλα συ ρυσαι υπ' ηερος υιας Αχαιων·
Ποιησον δ' αιθρην, δος δ' οφθαλμοισιν ιδεσθαι·
Εν δι φαει και ολεσσον.——

this period, if it had not been irrecoverably loſt in obſcurity. 

The many fragments of Celtic poetry which have been long preſerved among the poſterity of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, are, unfortunately, too barren of circumſtances, to leave it poſſible for us to diſtinguiſh with certainty, the reſpective Ages in which lived the various heroes whom they celebrate. Celtic Poetry.

Yet, if hiſtory might ever lend her ſanction to conjecture; we ſhould be induced to refer to this century, the deeds of the heroes of Oſſian. The Caledonians and the Mæatæ willingly accepted the aid of barbarians, like themſelves, againſt the Romans and the Provincial Britons. Incroaching, themſelves, upon the limits of the Roman territories; they left the remoter, weſtern ſhores to which their anceſtors had been driven, vacant, to receive any emigrants from foreign parts, who might come to occupy them. The ſpoils of the Roman Provinces, conſiſting of articles of uſe or luxury to which the ſavages of Scotland and of Ireland had been hitherto ſtrangers, awakened, as well among thoſe who heard of, as among thoſe who acquired them, an admiration, an avarice, a taſte for refined enjoyment, which impelled them to repair from the moſt Attacottic colony.

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moſt diſtant parts, in order to ſeize by rapine, what they had not wealth to purchaſe, or ingenuity to fabricate for themſelves. Yet, knowing but a very few of thoſe circumſtances which, if wholly known, would afford an explicit inference; having no authentic record of this period; and aware of the uncertainty even of the moſt plauſible traditions: We can only aſſert it to be probable, that a colony from Ireland, named by the Romans, *Scotti* or *Attacotti*, came, about this time, into the weſtern parts of Scotland (F). The heroes of Oſſian can hardly be of an earlier age; and it is ſtill more improbable that they ſhould be of a later.

Fingal's family.

Those anceſtors of Oſſian, whoſe deeds are the favourite ſubjects of his ſongs, might be ſome of the firſt leaders of the Attacottic colony. Their intercourſe with Ireland might be, that of a colony with its parent country. They might have been, at firſt, driven into Scotland by invaders, or allured by fairer proſpects. The race of Fingal had, at length, humbled every rival; eſtabliſhed their authority over their own tribe; ſpread wide among their neighbours the fame of their valour; puniſhed oppreſſors, and relieved the oppreſſed; protected their Allies, and often routed their enemies. But, their conteſts, and even their victories had proved fatal to themſelves. Hero after hero had fallen, till

none

none remained of the family of Fingal, but the blind and aged Offian. The inceſſant hoſtilities, and the unſupplied wants of ſavage life, with the dangers to which the ſavage is expoſed, and againſt which he has nothing but courage or fortitude, to protect him, ever tend, by their conjuct influence, to exterminate tribes in a ſtate of barbariſm; unleſs their operation be counteracted by the rapid progreſs of Civility (G).

AT length, new enemies poured down from the North of Europe, upon the North-Weſtern confines of the Roman Empire. The Franks and Saxons began to infeſt the Britiſh coaſts; capturing merchant ſhips, and deſcending, in plundering incurſions, upon the country. Carauſius, an experienced, naval officer, was ſent againſt them. Enriched with the ſpoils of thoſe ſpoilers, he was ſoon enabled to wreſt from Maximian, the empire of Britain. The Franks and Saxons were reconciled to become his Allies. Having again ſubdued or diſperſed the Mæatæ; he renewed the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, and ſtrengthened it by the erection of ſeven new forts, beſide other works.

A. D. 284.

Carauſius.

AFTER having been, for eleven years, held in ſeparate dominion, by Carauſius, and by Allectus, who murdered and ſucceeded him; Britain was reunited

Conſtantine.

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united to the Roman Empire, by Conſtantius Chlorus. Having reduced the rebellious provinces; Conſtantius next humbled the Caledonians, to ſue for peace; but died, before he could terminate the Caledonian war; leaving this to be accompliſhed by his ſon and ſucceſſor, the great Conſtantine.

A. D. 305.

Conſtans.

HOWEVER humbled by Conſtantine, the free inhabitants of North Britain had renewed their inroads into the provinces, and had perhaps conquered ſome part of the Roman territories; when they were again oppoſed by the Emperor Conſtans.

A. D. 343.

Mæatæ converted to Chriſtianity.

ABOUT this period, or perhaps earlier, the Mæatæ or Midland Britons, received their firſt knowledge of Chriſtianity, in their intercourſe with the Roman Provinces: For, the Chriſtian Religion had, long before, been preached to the Provincial Britons. The ferocity of the Britiſh character might indeed be ſoftened by the mild influence of Chriſtianity: but, among ſavages, even this religion neceſſarily aſſumed the dark hues of ſuperſtion, and learned to breathe the ſpirit of barbariſm.

ABOUT this period, the writers of the Roman hiſtory, begin to ſpeak of the SCOTS and PICTS, rather than of the Caledonians and Mæatæ, as the great enemies of the Roman power in Britain. But,

Scots.

But, we cannot well diſtinguiſh, whether it were, *that*, having become more intimately acquainted with thoſe Britiſh Nations which they had not been able to ſubdue, the Romans had now learned to denominate them more correctly than at firſt; or *that* ſome tribes once too petty to be particularly noticed, had now ſwallowed up all the reſt; or *that* coloniſts from foreign parts had lately impoſed their names upon the people among whom they had ſettled. If we err not in deducing an Attacottic colony from Ireland; we may ſurely conſider the ſame iſle as the parent country of the Scots (H).

Lupicinus.

The wall of Severus had, for more than a century, protected the Provincial Britons behind it, from the invaſion of their northern enemies. The Scots and Picts now broke through it: Lupicinus was ſent, by Julian, againſt them: they retired, at his approach.

A. D. 360.

The elder Theodoſius.

But they ſoon encouraged themſelves to renew the invaſion. The Picts, the Scots, and the Attacots* again burſt through the wall of Severus. The Roman forces could ſcarce withſtand their progreſs. Bulchobandes and Nectaridius, the Roman Leaders, were ſlain in an engagement. The invaders conti-



* See Note H.

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nued their ravages, unchecked, till, at length, the father of the great Theodosius was sent against them.

He came upon them near London, encumbered with loads of spoil and multitudes of prisoners. They A. D. 367. fled before the Hero; leaving their plunder and their captives behind them. He pursued their flight, till they were driven beyond the wall of Antoninus. Restoring this wall, as a barrier against their future inroads; he reduced the southern division of Scotland, into a province; and in honour of the Emperor, named it Valentia.

The Romans leave Britain.

When the Roman forces, and the flower of the British youth followed to the continent, the usurper Maximus, and his son Victor, in their unsuccessful opposition to the avenger of Gratian; Provincial Britain was left a defenceless prey to the Scots and Picts; who rushed upon it, with eager rapacity. Chrysantus, the general of Theodosius, drove them back to their native forests and mountains. They returned upon the provincials, after the death of Theodosius; but these Stilico, the governor and minister of his son, reinforced with a body of troops, before whom the plunderers again retired. Amidst the subsequent distresses of the Roman Empire, the army in Britain rebelled: the Scots and Picts renewed their incursions: the Romans abandoned

doned their Britiſh eſtabliſhments: the wall of Antoninus, however repaired, could no longer confine the free barbarians in the northern parts of the iſland: in pity to thoſe who had been once their ſubjects, the Romans repeatedly aſſiſted the Britons with temporary aid; but were, at laſt obliged to refuſe their protection: the Scots and Picts poured down upon South Britain with deſtroying fury: and the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles were called in from the north-weſt confines of Germany, to oppoſe them. A. D. 449.

## CHAPTER II.

HOWEVER victorious over the Britons, who were diſpirited and enfeebled by long ſervitude and dependence; the barbarous warriours of Caledonia ſoon found, that they had more formidable enemies in the Germans *, who were rapacious, fierce, and barbarous as themſelves. They had advanced to Stamford, before the Britons with their German Allies, could meet their career. The Scots and Picts were there routed in a bloody battle. Thoſe who eſcaped from the carnage of this defeat, fled, in miſerable confuſion, to the ſhelter of their remoteſt

The Germans repulſe the Scots and Picts.



* *Germans* is the *general* name: *Jutes*, *Saxons*, and *Angles* are *ſpecific*: *Anglo-Saxons* becomes the *general* name for the ſame people after their ſettlement in Britain. See Note I.

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remoteſt mountains, marſhes, and foreſts. Encouraged by this diſperſion of the Scots and Picts, by the feebleneſs and diſunion of the Britons, and by the riches and fertility of the iſland; the German adventurers ſoon eſtabliſhed themſelves in the faireſt provinces of South Britain, and invited crowds of their countrymen, to join them.

A German colony ſettles in Scotland.

OCTO and Ebeſſa, the ſon and the nephew of Hengiſt now ſovereign of Kent, ſoon led a new colony of Germans from their native ſeats; who, after plundering the Orkney iſles, advanced along the eaſtern coaſts of Britain, till they obtained ſettlements in Northumberland, and in the ſouth-eaſt of Scotland, up to the Frith of Forth. It is even doubtful, in the confuſion and deficiency of the records of this period, whether ſome looſer parties of the followers of Octo and Ebeſſa did not ſcatter themſelves over the whole eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, from the Forth, to the Murray Frith (I).

A. D. 547.

IN the courſe of the ſixth century, the Germans eſtabliſhed themſelves in the South-eaſtern parts of Scotland, with a more formidable force. Ida, leader of a body of Angles, arrived at Flamborough, with a fleet of fifty ſhips. The Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, however they might have here begun, before his arrival, to harraſs and ſtraiten the former colonies,

Angles found the kingdom of Northumberland.

now

now retired before his arms, or submitted to his sway. Building the castle of Bamburgh for the seat of his government, he founded the kingdom of Northumberland; comprehending, even at its first erection, the present counties of Northumberland, the Merse, and the three Lothians.

Territorial division of Britain.

Britain was now divided into many separate principalities.—The Anglo-Saxons coming, troop after troop, into the island, had conquered, at different times, the territories of Kent, Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; and had thus established the Heptarchy. The posterity of the old Provincial Britons still occupied the whole extent of the western coasts, from the Land's End in Cornwall, to the Frith of Clyde: For, Cumbria was not yet parted from North-Wales, or from Strathclyde, by the conquests of the Angles of Mercia or Northumbria. Like the Anglo-Saxons, they were subdivided into a number of petty states; Cornwall, South-Wales, North-Wales, Cumbria and Strath-Clyde forming so many distinct principalities. The Scots inhabited from the confines of the Britons of Strathclyde, on the South-West, to the heights of the Grampian mountains on the East and South-East; and, on the North and the North-West, to the Deucaledonian, and to the Irish Ocean. All the eastern division of the ancient Caledonia was occupied

A. D. 547.

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pied by the Picts; unleſs perhaps the *Germans* might have formed ſome ſlender ſettlements upon the borders of the friths, as they advanced ſouthward, to the more inviting diſtricts of the iſland.

Relative policy of the northern ſtates.

In their firſt ſtruggles with the Britons, the Anglo-Saxons were induced to ſeek the alliance of the Scots and Picts whom they had been called in to combat. But, no ſooner were the Britons ſubjugated, or driven to the weſtern extremities of the iſland; than the Angles of Northumberland turned their jealouſy and their hoſtilities againſt thoſe whom they had lately courted; as being now the moſt dangerous enemies they had to fear. Yet, did not the elder inhabitants of North Britain unite their counſels or their arms againſt the Angles. There was now no nation of ſuperior refinement, in the iſland; whoſe inſtitutions the reſt might view with the abhorrence and contempt of ignorance, whoſe ornamental opulence they might covet, whoſe enjoyments they might envy. The Britons had loſt almoſt all thoſe Roman arts of which they had been only unintelligent workmen. All were alike rude and barbarous. And their mutual hoſtilities were directed by nothing but the rapacity and the fierce irritability of ſavages, yet ſtrangers to policy and quiet induſtry. Sometimes the Scots and Picts waſted themſelves in mutual wars; ſometimes the one, or the other, or both

both of theſe petty nations in confederacy, combated the Angles or the Strath-Clydian Britons; ſometimes they joined the Angles againſt the Britons; and at times, they aided the Britons againſt the Angles.

Monarchical government of the Scots and Picts.

The Picts and the Scots, in this period, as well as the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons, and the Britons of Strath-Clyde, were governed, each by their own hereditary Princes, or Chiefs. If we may truſt old chronicles, the line of Fergus had, ere this time, been ſettled on the Scottiſh throne; the race of Druſt, on the Pictiſh. But, the hiſtory of all theſe princes is, for ſome centuries, too barren or too fabulous to merit a particular detail. Concerning nations ſo petty and ſo rude, only thoſe facts are worthy of being collected and repeated, which mark a conſiderable decline or acceſſion of national ſtrength, a great enlargement or diminution of territory, fluctuations of policy, and changes of manners.

Scots converted to Chriſtianity.

Christianity embraced, during the Roman power in Britain, by the Provincial Natives, had, by them, been communicated to their Hibernian brethren. Patrick, a Briton of Strath-clyde, early in the fifth century, after preaching the goſpel in Galloway, paſſed over to the contiguous ſhore of Ireland, and became the great Apoſtle of the Iriſh Scots. From the collateral deſcendents

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ſcendents of their anceſtors, in Ireland, the Scots of the North-Weſt of Scotland received, with reverence, a religion, which they would poſſibly have rejected with ſcorn, if preached to them by the provincial Britons whom they deſpiſed; and which the Britons might perhaps refuſe to preach to enemies whom they hated. The more ſouthern Picts had been already converted by Ninian *: Thoſe inhabiting northward from the Grampian mountains, were now reſcued from Paganiſm by Columba, the founder of the monaſtery of Hyona. Till this æra, Chriſtianity had been only tolerated among the Picts; but their king, Brudi, being now baptized, it became the national religion (K).

A. D. 565.

Conqueſts of Ethelfrith.

In the mean time, the Northumbrian monarchy continued to flouriſh, above the other principalities of North Britain. Ethelfrith, the third in the ſucceſſion of the ſovereigns of Northumberland, (or of Bernicia and Deira united †), preſſed hard upon the Britons, on all ſides; dividing, by his conqueſts, North-Wales from Cumbria, and Cumbria, again, from Strath-Clyde. On the north-weſt, he appears to have extended his ſway over the preſent diſtricts of Annandale

* Bedæ Hiſtoria Eccl. Lib. III. cap. 4. p. 106. Edit. Smith. Cantab. 1722.

† The kingdom of Northumberland was ſometimes divided into the two principalities of Bernicia and Deira, governed each by its own prince.

dale and Nithſdale. The Picts either aided the progreſs of his arms, or at leaſt avoided provoking him to turn his hoſtilities againſt themſelves. The Scots, under Aidan, one of the beſt and braveſt of their princes, joined the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and ſtrove to ſtop the career of Ethelfrith. But, the fortune of the Anglo-Saxon ſtill prevailed; and the Allies were, at laſt routed, with prodigious ſlaughter, in the battle of Dægſtane *; in which the Scots loſing their king Aidan †, with the flower of their warriours; they fled precipitately to their faſtneſſes, and left Ethelfrith to ſlaughter or enſlave the Britons, without oppoſition.

But, their defeat was not remembered by the Scots with any bitter inveteracy of reſentment. Policy, or hoſpitable generoſity ſoon prevailed over their firſt impatience for revenge: and the ſeven ſons and the daughter of Ethelfrith, when driven from Northumberland by their uncle Edwin, were kindly received and entertained by *Eochoid Buidhe* ‡, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Aidan ‖. A. D. 617.



* The name of this place is alſo written *Dogsaſtane*, and *Degraſtene*: Its ſituation I cannot diſcover.

† Other accounts ſay that Aidan ſurvived this battle, and died at home.

‡ The *Eugenius* of Boece and Buchanan.

‖ Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. III. C. 1. Fordun. C. 33.

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Conqueſts of Edwin.

Edwin was perhaps the greateſt of the ſovereigns of the Northumbrian monarchy. Gaining the ſovereignty by the expulſion of his ſiſter's children; he was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he engaged in war againſt the Picts, the Britons, and the Scots *. The protection which the latter afforded to his nephews, might be among his pretences for the war.

A. D. 617. Already had the Northumbrians conquered from the Britons of Cumbria, the territory between the frith of Solway and the river Nith. Edwin ſubdued the mingled Scots and Britons of the preſent Galloway (L); conquered the poſſeſſors of the iſle of Man, equally of Britiſh, or of Scottiſh origin; and advancing, with his fleet and army, ſtill farther along theſe North-weſtern ſhores, reduced the Hebudian iſles, and ravaged the coaſt of Argyleſhire †. As little were the Picts able to withſtand Edwin, as the Scots or the Britons. The Picts, too, fled before him; and it ſeems doubtful whether he did not ravage alſo their coaſts, and extend his confines, on their ſide, beyond the frith of Forth ‡.

627. Internal policy of his dominions.

Having thus enlarged his territories, and ſpread wide the terrour of his name; Edwin next turned his cares to the internal policy of his dominions. By

* Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. II. C. 9. Gul. Malms. I. 3.

† Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. and Gul. Malms. ubi ſupra.

‡ I am inclined to believe, that Edinburgh owes its name to this Edwin of Northumberland.

By the wiſdom and equity of his laws, no leſs than by the vigilance with which they were enforced, was the ferocity of his ſubjects ſoftened, and their rapine reſtrained. With a benevolent attention to the wants of the traveller; Edwin had wells dug in the moſt deſart parts of his kingdom, and brazen ladles placed beſide them, for the refreſhment of the thirſty. So effectually were robbery and theft repreſſed by his juſtice, that a woman with a child might have paſſed alone, without fear of injury, through all parts of the territories ſubject to his power. And, in this ſplendid and happy æra of their hiſtory, were the Anglo-Saxons of Northumberland perſuaded to embrace the Chriſtian faith *.

A. D. 633.

Yet, Edwin did not die in peace. His rival, Penda, king of Mercia, incited to rebellion, Cadwallon†, ſovereign of the Britons of Wales and Cumbria, and at this time tributary to Edwin. The Mercian and the Briton, with their armies, encountered the Northumbrians at Haethfelth‡. Edwin with his eldeſt ſon, Osfrid, were ſlain in the battle; his army was routed; and Egfrid, another of his ſons, having

Edwin defeated and ſlain.



* Chron. Sax. ſub anno 627. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. II. 16.

† Otherwiſe *Cadwallo, Ceadwalla.*

‡ Bed. H. E. II. 20.—*Haethfelth* foreſt, in Yorkſhire, between the river Don and the iſle of Exholme.

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having surrendered himself into their hands, was murthered, in cold blood, by the victors *.

The Scots defeated in Ireland.

WHILE the princes of the southern regions of Scotland were thus engaged in almost incessant wars, and with these varieties of fortune; the Scots and Picts in the north, were continually embroiled among themselves, or with the Britons of Strath-Clyde; or engaged in military expeditions to the northern coasts of Ireland. At the battle of Moyrath, in that island, the Scots under Donald Brec, their king, and with those Irish Allies whom they had gone to aid, suffered a fatal defeat; in which A. D. 637. the flower and the strength of the Scottish nation perished: The Scots continued for many years to feel the unhappy effects of this disaster †. Donald, returning home, was, not long after, slain at Fraith- 642. Cairvin, in a battle with Hoan, king of the Britons of Strath-Clyde ‡.

Reign of Oswald in Northumberland.

BUT, the southern division of Scotland was still the busiest scene of contest. The sons of Ethelfrith, returning from exile, upon the death of Edwin, regained the sovereignty of Northumberland. Cadwallon, the warlike monarch of the Britons, attacked

* Bed. Hist. Eccl. II. 20.

† Annals of Ulster, published by Pinkerton in the second volume of his *Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland.*

‡ Annals of Ulster, under the year 642.

tacked and ſlew the eldeſt of theſe, before his power was confirmed, and ere he had acquainted himſelf with the duties and the difficulties of his condition. Oſwald, another ſon of Ethelfrith, ſucceeded his brother, and oppoſed the Briton with better fortune. Fluſhed with a ſeries of victories, and deſpiſing foes whom he had been accuſtomed to defeat; Cadwallon met Oſwald at Deniſburn*, near the ancient wall of Severus. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. The Anglo-Saxons were, at laſt, victorious. Cadwallon, with his principal officers fell†. The remains of his army were diſperſed. The monkiſh hiſtorians of the time have aſcribed Oſwald's ſucceſs not ſo much to his valour as to his piety and to the direct interference of Heaven‡. The death of Cadwallon left Oſwald almoſt without a rival. The Britons, the Picts, and the Scots ſubmitted to his ſway, and paid him tribute‖. But, Penda of Mercia, envying Oſwald's proſperity, or fearful for his own independence, ſoon provoked him to a new war, and in a battle fought at Maſerfield in Shropſhire§, routing the Northumbrian army; ſlew their monarch; and with barbarous inhumanity expoſed his mangled limbs on poles¶. A. D. 642.

Osuiu

* Perhaps Dilſton. † Bed. H. E. III. 1 and 2. ‡ Idem. Ibid.

‖ Nenn. App. C. 64. Pinkerton's Enquiry, I. 332.

§ Others think this to be Maſerfield in Lancaſhire.

¶ Bed. H. E. III. 9.

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Osuiu.

A. D. 655.

OSUIU now aſcended the Northumbrian throne. The Mercian, whoſe enmity had been fatal to two monarchs of Northumberland, was overthrown and ſlain by Oſuiu, in the battle of Loidis *. His northern neighbours were either all his tributaries, or at leaſt too much overawed by the fame of his valour and increaſing power, to attempt any invaſion of his kingdom †.

Britons, Scots, and Picts.

WHILE the Northumbrian arms were thus ſucceſsful, and the Northumbrian dominions thus extenſive; the tranſactions of the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts ſeem to have been obſcured by *their* ſplendour. Yet, the Scots were inſenſibly incroaching on the territories of the Picts: The clergy of Hyona, obtaining one eſtabliſhment after another in Scotland and in Pictland, contributed to aggrandize their countrymen; The Picts ſtraitened by the incroachments of the Saxons, on the one ſide, and of the Scots on the other, made, with little ſucceſs, ſome expeditions into Ireland, either for depredation or for ſettlement: They had, by this time, fixed the chief ſeat of their government at Abernethy, on the ſouthern ſhore of the frith of Tay; while their monarchs had places of occaſional reſidence at Forteviot, and on Lochleven: The Scottiſh princes ſeem to have, at the ſame time, reſided chiefly

* Now Leeds, in Yorkſhire. † Bed. H. E. III. 24.

chiefly at Dunolly or Dunſtaffnage: The Britiſh princes of Strath-Clyde, however narrow their territories, were yet ſecure in the inacceſſible ſtrength of their Capital, Alclyde or Dunbarton: On the remoter mountains of Galloway and Carrick, among which the conquering Anglo-Saxons had not penetrated, were ſtill ſome ſcanty tribes, conſiſting partly of the poſterity of ſome of the ancient Mæatæ whom although within a province, the Romans had never compleatly ſubdued, and partly of emigrant Attacots from the contiguous ſhores of Ireland: Theſe now acknowledged, and hardly acknowledged, the authority of the Anglo-Saxons: All the reſt of Scotland was occupied either by theſe Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria, or by Britons, Scots, or Picts in immediate ſubjection to them. Such was, at this time, the ſtate of Scotland (M).

The Northumbrians defeated by the Picts.

The power of barbarians without civil policy is ever precarious and tranſient. Egfrid the ſon and ſucceſſor of Oſuiu, tempted by the vicinity of the Iriſh coaſt, purſued the Northumbrian conqueſts from Galloway into Ireland *. His troops routed the feeble, undiſciplined natives, with great ſlaughter; yet effected no permanent eſtabliſhment in the iſland. Elated with the ſucceſs of this expedition, or perhaps provoked by the revolt of his tributaries; Egfrid next

* This name is perhaps from a Daniſh or Norwegian Olave.

† Bed. H. E. IV. 26.

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next turned his arms againſt the Scots and the Picts. But, purſuing theſe wily enemies too raſhly among the unknown defiles of their hills; his army was defeated, and he himſelf ſlain *. The Picts, thus victorious, ſhook off the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons, and advancing over the Forth, ſeized all the ſouth-eaſtern diſtricts of the preſent Scotland. The Scots ſeem to have at the ſame time enlarged their territories, by occupying thoſe tracts which were deſerted by the Picts, and by ſeizing, as well as *they*, ſome ſhare of the Northumbrian domains. The Britons of Strath-Clyde were equally ready to throw off the Northumbrian yoke. The Galwegians alſo regained their independence.—Brudi IV. was the Pictiſh ſovereign whoſe victory over Egfrid, produced theſe important conſequences †.

A. D. 685.

Controverſy concerning Eaſter.

In a rude and ignorant age, religion or ſuperſtition commonly intermeddles in the civil and political concerns of ſociety, ſo as to raiſe its miniſters to act the buſieſt and moſt conſpicuous part, every where but on the field of battle. And religion appears to have, in this period, powerfully influenced all the amities, the jealouſies, the alliances, and the wars of the nations of North Britain. The Britons, the Scots, and the Picts had not been taught, when they

* Bed. H. E. IV. 26.

† Bedæ H. E. IV. 26. et in epitome, ſub anno 685.—Chron. Pict. in Innes, and Pinkerton.

they were firſt converted to chriſtianity, to confeſs the ſupremacy of the Epiſcopal See of Rome, or to follow whatever obſervances the Romiſh Biſhop might chuſe to preſcribe. The Anglo-Saxons, converted at a later æra, and by Romiſh Miſſionaries, reverenced the Roman Biſhop as Father of the Faithful, and reſpectfully imitated every ceremony of his church. Both the Scots and the Anglo-Saxons obſerved the Feſtival of Eaſter. But, the Scots calculated the return of this Feſtival upon principles of computation by which aſtronomical truth was ſo flagrantly violated, that they had, at laſt, come to anticipate, by a whole month, the day of which they meant, in their Eaſter, to obſerve the return. The errour in aſtronomy, and the conſequent irregularity of obſervance had been corrected by the Romiſh clergy, and among all thoſe Chriſtians who complied with the Romiſh ritual. The Scottiſh clergy and their diſciples, refuſed, with all the pertinacity of ignorance, and of rude independence, to receive the correction. The Romiſh and Saxon prieſts execrated their refuſal, as damnable hereſy. The national hatred between the Anglo-Saxons and their northern neighbours, was thus exaſperated by religious diſſenſion. Hardly was the contention of rapine and ambition proſecuted with keener ardour, or by ſtratagems more artful, than were employed in the recommendation of two contradictory calendars of ſuperſtition. Religion becoming in this manner,

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a firſt principle in the politics of the princes of North Britain; the Romiſh or the Scottiſh calendar, for a while, prevailed, by turns, as the Northumbrian or the Scottiſh arms were victorious. At laſt, the Scottiſh clergy were reconciled to the See of Rome, and relinquiſhed all their ancient peculiarities *.

Wars between the Picts and the Northumbrians.

The northern princes continued for ſome time, to purſue ſucceſsfully thoſe advantages which they had gained over the Northumbrians, by the overthrow of Egbert. Berctred, the general of Alcfrid, Egbert's brother and ſucceſſor, periſhed, ſome time afterwards, in another unfortunate battle againſt the Picts †. But, in the ſubſequent reign of Ofred, Berthfrid led a Northumbrian army to oppoſe them, with better ſucceſs; and the invaders were routed, with great ſlaughter ‡. In conſequence of this defeat, the Picts might be expelled from a part of thoſe territories which they had uſurped from the Northumbrians; or, if they remained, might perhaps be reduced to acknowledge the authority of the Northumbrian monarch.

A. D. 698.

705.

Meanwhile

* Bedæ Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, III. 4. The venerable hiſtorian's words are—*dubios circulos* ſequentes—ut barbari et ruſtici, quando eadem prima ſabbati, quæ nunc dies dominica cognominatur, veniret, minime didicerant.—At Oſwald's return from Scotland, the Scottiſh ritual was, for a time, eſtabliſhed in Northumberland, under his authority.

† Beda, in epitome, &c. ‡ Hollinſhed. vol. I. &c.

Scottish affairs.

Meanwhile the building of a church; a conteſt between two rival chieftains; the murder or depoſition of a prince; and perhaps a friendly or prædatory expedition to Ireland, or to ſome of the northern or weſtern iſles—were the only conſiderable national tranſactions of the Scots, the Picts, or the Britons of Strath-Clyde, in which the Anglo-Saxons were not concerned. And, theſe are too indiſtinctly related in the jejune chronicles which are the only genuine records of our ancient hiſtory; and with too many plainly fabulous circumſtances by our later hiſtorians, to merit a relation here, as intereſting, or uniformly certain facts.

A. D. 738.

Egbert, at length reſtored the falling fortunes of the Northumbrian monarchy. At the commencement of his reign, the Picts and Britons either acknowledged not the authority of the Northumbrians, or were, at leaſt preparing to ſhake off their yoke *. But, the Picts had been weakened by inteſtine diſcord †. They quickly yielded to Egbert's arms ‡. Not leſs hoſtile than Egbert to the Britons, Unguſt, king of the Picts, joined his conqueror, with an army; and the two princes led their combined forces to beſiege Alclyde. However naturally impregnable, the Britiſh capital was taken; and Strath-Clyde ceaſed to be an independent principality ‖.

Siege of Alclyde.

746.



* Pinkerton, I. 304. † Bed. H. E. V. 24. G. Malms. I. 3.
‡ Sim. Dun. p. 105. &c

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Final decline of the Northumbrian monarchy.

The conqueror of the Britons was the laſt powerful monarch of Northumberland. The intrigues and arms of the Mercians at once waſted the ſtrength of the Northumbrians, and undermined the authority of their ſovereigns. Factious nobles excited one rebellion after another, till the people at length threw off almoſt all the reſtraints of ſubordination. The Picts and the Galwegians, reinforced by the Scots, and the Britons of Strath-Clyde, ſeized all the Northumbrian territories, up to the Tine and the Solway Frith. The Cumbrians were at the ſame time eager to ſtruggle for independence. To conſummate the misfortunes of Northumberland; timidity and ſuperſtition withdrew to cells and convents, thoſe who ought to have fought in defence of their country; and the ſucceſſors of Egbert, whether rightful heirs or uſurpers, appear to have been a ſeries of weak men, unfit to hold the reins of government even in the happieſt times. Royalty had been extinguiſhed in this diſtracted country, when Egbert the Great, ſovereign of the Weſt-Saxons, united all the principalities of the heptarchy into one kingdom*.

Pictiſh affairs.

From the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland, to the defeat and death of Egfrid, the kingdom of the Picts had continued to decline. Driven

* G. Malms. Sim. Dunelm. Hen. Hunting. &c.

Driven to the northern and the north-weſtern parts of the iſland, by the Saxons; and back again towards the ſouth and the ſouth-eaſt by the Scots; they were thus ſtraitened on all ſides. No longer enjoying the protection of thoſe lakes and inacceſſible mountains which guarded the independence of the Scots; they became, at length, the tributaries of the Northumbrian ſovereigns. Northumbrian tax-gatherers drove away their flocks and herds; And their *ſtrongeſt holds*, and faireſt paſtures were forcibly occupied by Northumbrian *thanes*. The kingdom of the Picts ſeemed about to be ſwallowed up between the two riſing powers of the Scots and the Northumbrians. But, the fall of Egbert left the dominions which he had ruled, open to any invader. The Picts were not ſlow to purſue their victory. They occupied all the ſouth-eaſt counties of the preſent Scotland; relinquiſhing to the Scots another portion of their northern territories. They had been again humbled by the Northumbrians; although they could not be eaſily expelled from their new poſſeſſions. But, upon the final decline of the Northumbrian monarchy, after the death of the ſecond Egbert; the Picts roſe in ſtrength over the weakneſs of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. The faireſt period in the Pictiſh hiſtory, is, that between the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom, and the union of the Picts with the Scots. Unguſt, the

Ally

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Ally of Egbert, was fierce and cruel, but brave and ſucceſsful in war. Rebellion aroſe againſt him, within his own dominions; but, he repreſſed and puniſhed the rebels. He vanquiſhed the Scots in battle, and ravaged their territories. It ſhould ſeem, that he enlarged the Pictiſh dominions to the utmoſt extent they ever attained *.

Correſpondence between Eochoid and Charlemagne.

Even the names of the cotemporary ſovereigns of the Scots are not certainly known. One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions in this period of the Scottiſh hiſtory, was a friendly, epiſtolary intercourſe between the celebrated Charlemagne, and the Scottiſh king, Eochoid, the third. Charlemagne, victorious in France, in Italy, and in Germany, had begun to puſh his conqueſts, and to propagate Chriſtianity by the ſword, over the more northern regions of the continent. In this ſtate of his affairs, the poſſeſſors of the northern parts of Britain naturally became objects of his notice. The Romiſh Clergy had already eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of correſpondence and intercourſe which embraced all thoſe chriſtians who acknowledged the authority of the Romiſh church. Alcuin, a Scot or Anglo-Saxon was the favourite and preceptor of Charlemagne. Hence guided by a ſound and extenſive policy; encouraged by the circumſtances of the church; and aided by

* Bed. H. E. paſſim. Tighernac, quoted by Pinkerton.

by the information and advice of Alcuin; the great emperor of the Franks, while he threatened the diſorderly and turbulent Northumbrians, ſought a friendly correſpondence with the ſovereign of the Scots*.

Murdac. MURDAC, the ſucceſſor of Eochoid, could not protect his ſubjects from the invaſion of Unguſt and the Pictiſh armies †.

State of North Britain. THE fall of the Northumbrian monarchy was not leſs fortunate to the Britons of Strath-Clyde, to the Galwegians, and to the Cumbrians, than to the Picts. They all recovered their ancient independence ‡.

Union of the Scots and Picts. AT length, in conſequence of intermarriages between the royal families of the two nations; yet not till after a ſeries of wars in which the powers of both were greatly exhauſted; the Scots and the Picts were united under one ſovereign; KENNETH *Macalpine*, heir and repreſentative of the Scottiſh regal line (N). The name and the diſtinctive peculiarities of the Pictiſh nation were loſt. In their primitive manners and language, they had hardly differed from the Scots. And, in the eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern parts of their territories, they had been long ſo intimately intermingled with the Anglo-

A. D. 843.

* Eginharde Vita Carol. Magn. L. XIV. p. 79. Bed. II. E. &c. See a Note at the end of the Volume.

† Annals of Ulſter, &c. ‡ Annals of Ulſter: Chron. Pict. &c.

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lo-Saxons, by mutual conqueſts, intercourſe, and ſettlement; that the language, manners, and policy of this latter people had inſenſibly come to predominate, in the better half of the Pictiſh kingdom. Modern enquirers into the ancient hiſtory of Scotland, aſtoniſhed to find no peculiar remains of a people, once not leſs eminent in theſe parts of Britain, than either the Scots or the Anglo-Saxons, have fabricated various theories to ſolve the difficulty: While, the vulgar, leſs ſcrupulous about probability, have ſatisfied themſelves with fabling, that Kenneth and the Scots, in the rage of vengeance and of victory, entirely exterminated the hated race of the Picts *.

## Chapter III.

Daniſh invaſions.

IT was a troubleſome period to the inhabitants of Britain, in which Kenneth accompliſhed the union of the Scots with the Picts. The ſavage inhabitants of the northern parts of Germany and of Scandinavia had been ſtraitened by the conqueſts of Charlemagne. To the Perils of war, and of unſkilful yet adventurous navigation, ſome of them had been long accuſtomed. They ſoon learned that the ſouthern coaſts of Europe occupied by nations who had deſcended from the ſame ſeats within which they were

* See a Note at the end of the Volume.

were now confined, were abundantly ſtored with various wealth; of which the plenty, the ſplendour, and the utility exceeded the gayeſt fancies of a Norſe imagination. From Norway and from Denmark, they poured eagerly down upon the coaſts, firſt of France, and afterwards, of Britain. Already had they alarmed and pillaged the coaſts of Weſſex. They had equally terrified and overpowered the Eaſt-Angles, and the Northumbrians. And now, accuſtomed to this trade of rapine, and acquainted with its advantages; they continued to purſue the ſame courſe, year after year; ravaging or forming eſtabliſhments in all quarters of the Britiſh iſles. Following the ſame track, by which the Saxons had, four centuries before, come into Britain; they often landed on the eaſtern ſhores of Scotland. Even before the reign of Kenneth, the Picts had been harraſſed by the Danes *. Kenneth was obliged to oppoſe theſe ravagers. He carried his arms alſo againſt the Britons; it is doubtful, with what ſucceſs. After a not inglorious reign, he died at Forteviot; leaving to his ſucceſſor and brother, Donald, a whole nation whom he had found enemies, now ſubjects and friends*.

Military tranſactions of Kenneth.

A. D. 860.

The reign of Donald was but of four years duration. He quelled ſome inſurrections among his

Donald.



* Fordun. Buchan. Chron. Pict. &c.

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Pictiſh ſubjects. The ancient laws of the Scots were reviſed and confirmed under his authority. He died peaceably, in his palace of Belachoir (Blair ?)*

April, 864.

Conſtantine II.

CONSTANTINE, the ſon of Kenneth, now ſucceeded to the ſovereignty over the united Scots and Picts. The Danes renewed their depredations. Conſtantine encountered them on the banks of the Leven, in Fife. Succeſsful againſt one detachment, who were divided from the reſt by the river; he raſhly led on his forces, to attack their camp, ſtrongly fortified, upon the oppoſite ſide. But, he was repulſed, in the attack: and his army fled in ſhameful confuſion. The Danes afterwards made an incurſion upon the Britons of Strath-Clyde; beſieged and took the caſtle of Alclyde; and ſlew Artga, the Britiſh prince. A number of the Strath-Clydian Britons retired, at this time, into Wales, and there obtained more ſecure ſettlements. From Strath-Clyde, the Danes ſailed to Ireland. But, whether provoked by the purſuit of the Scots, or allured by the hopes of new booty, they ſoon reviſited Scotland, again defeated the Scots, and ravaged their territories. Amid theſe diſtreſſes of his ſubjects, and the deſolation of his kingdom, Conſtantine died*.

A. D. 864.

A. D. 882.

Ed.

ED, ſucceeded his brother Conſtantine. But, before he could eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, he was ſlain

* Chronicon Pictorum.

slain by the faction of his relations, Eochoid and Grig †. Sect. I. Chap. II.

Grig succeeded to the sovereign power; but not without sharing with Eochoid, the nominal honours of royalty. Grig seems to have been a wise and valiant prince. Yet, so discordant are the chronicles, in the events of his reign, that we can relate it only as probable, that he rescued Strath-Clyde from the dominion of the Danes: made some successful inroads into Northumberland; and perhaps an equally successful expedition into Ireland, to aid an Ally against rebels, or invaders. After a reign of eleven years, Grig, either died, or was deposed and expelled ‡. Grig. A. D. 883.

Donald, the son of Constantine, next became king of Scotland. The Norwegians and Danes had, about this time, effected a settlement in Moray (O), and perhaps in some of the adjoining districts. The Orkney isles they had before subdued. The kings of Scotland seem, like their cotemporaries of England, to have reluctantly received for subjects, many of their Danish invaders, whom they could not easily expel. But, neither could they Donald II. A. D. 894.



* Fordun. Boeth. Buchanan, compared with Chron. Pict. Chron. Eleg. Annals of Ulster.

† Fordun. Chron. Pict. ‡ Idem. Ibid.

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make them dutiful or peaceable ſubjects. Donald, in the progreſs of his reign, was obliged to march into the north-eaſt counties of his kingdom, to quell a rebellion, or oppoſe an invaſion by the Norwegians or Danes. He fought and routed them. But, he himſelf ſoon after died at Forres, of the wounds he had received in the battle *.

Conſtantine III.

A. D. 904.

The ſucceſſor of Donald was Constantine ſon of Ed. The Norwegians renewed their inroads, early in this reign. The Scots fled before them. They carried their ravages, unreſiſted, over all Pictland: not ſparing even the ſanctity of Dunkeld, and its clerical poſſeſſors. The venerable eſtabliſhment of Hyona (P) had been plundered, and its buildings defaced, in ſome of their earlieſt deſcents upon Ireland and the weſtern iſles. At length, the Scots routed and ſlaughtered the plunderers at *Fraith-Heremi* *.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

The conteſt between the Romiſh, and the Scottiſh or Iriſh form of Chriſtian worſhip had at laſt ended in the general reception of the former. The glory of Hyona declined. The Northumbrian biſhops aſſumed a metropolitan power over the

* Fordun. IV. 20. Chronicon Pictorum. Annals of Ulſter. Chron. Eleg.

† Chronicon Pictorum. Appendix to vol. I. of Pinkerton's Enquiry.

the Pictiſh church. Dunkeld (Q.), even, although founded by the diſciples of Columba, began to ſwerve from its duty to its parent monaſtery. The ſecular clergy of Pictland and Scotland came to be all of Romiſh ordination. Every new religious foundation was for the accommodation of the prieſts and monks of Rome. The *Keldees* were, by degrees deprived of all their revenues, and extruded from all their eſtabliſhments; except perhaps a few ſequeſtered cells, too miſerable to move the envy or avarice of their rivals. The Bishopric of St Andrews (R), (at firſt *Kilremont*) was founded: And Dunkeld ceaſed to be the principal ſeat of the clergy of Scotland and Pictland. In this condition of the church of Scotland, Conſtantine, with Kellach of St Andrews, the firſt biſhop in his kingdom, and with all the reſt of his ſubjects; whether in hopes of thus enſuring to themſelves the more immediate protection of Heaven againſt the Danes, or perſuaded by the inſinuations of their own ambitious clergy, or enjoined by the Pope or by ſome Council; vowed, in a ſolemn aſſembly, upon *Knockcreidigh*, near the Royal ſeat of Scone, to obſerve the ordinances of the goſpel, with the ceremonies, and the canons of the Romiſh Church *. A. D. 906.

Constantine, about the ſame time, endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt future invaſions, by a league Northumbrian Danes.

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league with his ſouthern neighbours.—England had ſuffered much more than Scotland, by the ravages of the Danes. *Alfred*, the moſt illuſtrious of its Saxon princes, unable to expel thoſe invaders, after they had over-run and ſeized upon ſome of the faireſt provinces in his kingdom, was ſatisfied with compelling them to embrace Chriſtianity, and confining them to ſettlements in thoſe parts of England which had been depopulated by their inroads. Northumberland was in the poſſeſſion of a military colony of Danes, when Alfred aſcended the throne. Awed by his valour, prudence, and good fortune, theſe then ſubmitted to a feudal dependence upon the Engliſh monarch. On this condition, were they left in quiet poſſeſſion of the province. But, their fidelity was ſtill wavering and uncertain. Sometimes they aided the renewed incurſions of their countrymen: They at times joined the Scots and Picts againſt the Anglo-Saxons: And only when overawed by the undoubted ſuperiority of their Engliſh maſters, did they remain in peaceable allegiance *.

Combined war.

WITH theſe Danes of Northumberland, Conſtantine now entered into a cloſe alliance. A part of Ireland was at this time in the poſſeſſion of other Scandinavians. After plundering the coaſts of Britain,

* Chronicon Pictorum de Conſtantino.

tain, the Norſe fleets often retired with their booty. A powerful hoſt from that weſtern iſle, ſoon came to prove the ſtrength and mutual fidelity of Conſtantine and his Northumbrian Allies. The invaders were met, at Tinemore, by the combined armies. The Iriſh Danes, dividing their forces into four columns, detached one under Reginald †, to attack the rear of the Scottiſh army; while the other three, led on, by Godfrey and other nobles, advanced to engage them in the front. The Scots and Northumbrians ſoon broke the main body of the Scandinavians. But, Reginald, in the mean time, fell upon their rear with ſuch impetuoſity, and ſlaughtered ſo many of the Scots, that the victory remained doubtful, when the two armies were parted by the fall of night. The invaders left the iſland. And this conſequence was indeed victory to the Scots and Northumbrians *.

A. D. 921.

Homage paid to Edward.

These contentions among the Danes, in which the Scots, and probably alſo the Strathclydians, the Galwegians, and the Cumbrians were equally involved, ſeem to have invited Edward, the Engliſh monarch, to turn his arms northwards. Diſunited by mutual jealouſies, and weakened by their late wars, thoſe northern nations ſhewed themſelves more ready to appeal to Edward, as an arbiter of their

* G. Malmes: Sim. Dunelm. &c.

† Or Regner.

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their diſputes, and to kneel before him, as their Lord, than to form any vigorous or well-concerted combination againſt him. He advanced to a place named *Badecanwillan*, in Pictland. Thither the princes of Cumbria, and Strath-Clyde, with Conſtantine, king of the Scots, repaired to pay Edward that occaſional homage; which was, in thoſe times readily paid by the weaker party, at the ſettlement of almoſt every conteſt; becauſe, unleſs when accompanied with the promiſe of tribute, and the ſurrender of ſtrong-holds, it implied merely temporary ſubmiſſion and tranſient reſpect †.

A. D. 925.

State of Scotland.

STRATH-CLYDE was ſtill a ſeparate principality, governed by its own ſovereigns, but ſo intimately connected with Scotland, that the kings of Scotland, and of Strath-Clyde appear to have been, in this period, collateral deſcendents of the ſame family. The chiefs of the Galwegians were, moſt probably, dependents on the prince of Strath-Clyde. The coaſts of Galloway were occaſionally ravaged; but the country was not ſubdued by the Danes. The Hebudian iſles, with perhaps ſome part of Argyleſhire had, however, been diſmembered by the Danes, from the Scottiſh kingdom; and with the iſle of Man, erected into the NORSE KINGDOM OF THE ISLES †.

SUCH,

* Chronicon Pict. Annals of Ulſter. † Saxon Chron. Gul. Malmes. R. Hoveden.

† Chronicon Pictorum; Chronicon Manniæ, &c.

Such, nearly in the middle of the reign of Conſtantine, was the ſtate of thoſe territories which were afterwards united under the dominion of the kings of Scotland. But, this prince was to be yet more deeply humbled by his powerful ſouthern neighbours. Anlaff and Godfert, Daniſh chiefs of Northumberland, rebelling againſt Athelſtan, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Edward, were ſoon defeated and driven into exile by the Saxon monarch. They ſought refuge, Anlaff in Ireland, and Godfert with Conſtantine in Scotland. The Scottiſh monarch received the fugitive with generous hoſpitality; nor would he deliver him up, at Athelſtan's demand. While Athelſtan advanced, to enforce his requeſt by invaſion, the Dane was ſent away, in ſafety from the Scottiſh court. In the rage of diſappointment, the Saxon ſent his fleet to ravage the Scottiſh coaſts, as far as Caithneſs; while he led his army, waſting the interior country, to *Dunfoeder* and *Wertermore*. It is uncertain whether Conſtantine did not appeaſe him by renewed homage *.

Scotland invaded by Athelſtan.

Impatient to revenge the injuries of his country, the Scottiſh king, within a few years, formed another combination of the northern princes, whom he perſuaded to join him in an expedition againſt England. The Daniſh kings of Ireland, and of the

Battle of Brunanburgh.



* Saxon Chronicle: Sim. Dun: &c.

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Isles, Owen king of Cumbria, and probably too the king of Strath-Clyde, and the chief of the Galwegians, were all of this confederacy. These allies mustered one of the most powerful armies that ever invaded England. Their fleet sailed up the Humber; and they prepared to re-establish the Danish princes, whom Athelstan had expelled, in the sovereignty of Northumberland. But, the English monarch was not slow to meet them. The invaders and the English army joined battle at Brunanburgh *. From morning till night was the victory obstinately disputed. This was the utmost effort of both the invaded and the invaders: the last hopes of both depended on the issue of the engagement. At last the allies were totally routed: many of their leaders were slain on the field of battle: Anlaff, the Danish king of Ireland, and Constantine of Scotland, with a few of their followers, escaped to their ships. Even the English army, although victorious, suffered so severely, that Athelstan could not avail himself of his victory, to extend his dominion over the territories of the vanquished †.

A. D. 934.

A. D. 938.

Abdication of Constantine.

Constantine, a few years after the failure of this expedition, retired to a monastery at St Andrews; in which he spent, in religious solitude, the

* Perhaps the place now named Brugh.

† Saxon Chronicle: G. Malms: Chron. Pict. &c.

the laſt five years of his life. The records of the reign of Conſtantine have afforded us ſomething like a regular detail of policy. The Danes and the Anglo-Saxons were the only enemies he had to fear. And however unſucceſsful, he certainly oppoſed both with a degree of valour and of political intelligence worthy of better fortune. His generoſity to the fugitive Godfert, beſpeaks the elevation of his ſentiments to have equalled the depth of his ſagacity. No wonder, that a mind like his, ſhould, after forty years experience in the cares of royalty, the anxieties of ambition, the viciſſitudes of war, ſeek, in the ſolitude of the cloiſter, and in the conſolations of religion, that comfort which it had not yet found *.

Conſtantine was ſucceeded by Malcolm, the ſon of his predeceſſor, Donald. Malcolm's firſt military expedition was into Moray, in which a nobleman, named Kellach, had excited a rebellion. Kellach was ſlain, and the inſurrection quelled †. Malcolm I.

In the next year, he aſſiſted Edmund (who had ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of England, upon the death of his brother Athelſtan) in an expedition againſt the Cumbrians; which ended in the final reduction of the Cumbrian principality. To reward the



* Matth. Weſtmonſt. &c. † Chron. Pictorum.

Sect. I. Ch. III.

the ſervices and engage the future friendſhip of Malcolm, Edmund inveſted him, with the dominion of the conquered principality of Cumbria; receiving his homage, upon the inveſtiture. The Daniſh chieftains had been again expelled from Northumberland: They now ravaged the weſtern no leſs than the eaſtern coaſts of Britain: And Edmund ſeems to have ſought, with a policy like that of Conſtantine, to unite all the native inhabitants of the iſland againſt the invaders *.

A. D. 944.

Faithful to his engagements to the Engliſh monarch, Malcolm, to repreſs, it ſhould ſeem, ſome inſurrection of the Daniſh inhabitants, entered Northumberland, a few years after, and plundered and laid waſte the country up to the river Tees †.

A. D. 950.

Malcolm's death.

The Dane of Moray ſtill roſe in rebellion, as they were encouraged by their piratical countrymen, or by the occaſional misfortunes of their maſters, or perhaps provoked by ſome diſagreeable claim of the Scottiſh ſovereign, upon their duty. Although repreſſed by Malcolm, in the beginning of his reign, they now again revolted. And this king was ſlain, after a reign of nine years, in a ſecond expedition to reduce the inhabitants of Moray to obedience ‡.

He

* Annals of Ulſter, &c. † Chron. Pict.
‡ Chron. Pict. Fordun.

He was ſucceeded by Indulf, the ſon of Conſtantine; for in this part of the ſeries of the Scottiſh monarchs, each king appears to have been ſucceeded, regularly, not by his own ſon, but by the ſon of his predeceſſor. Indulf had, for ſome years previous to his acceſſion to the throne, held from Malcolm, the principality of Cumberland, in which *he* had been inveſted by the Engliſh king. That principality was now reſigned to Duff, the ſon of Malcolm *.

Indulf. A. D. 953.

Athelstan, after his victorious progreſs through Scotland, had left ſome garriſons, impregnable in ſtrength, to check and overawe the Scots, and to ſerve as keys, by which the Engliſh might at any future time, more eaſily invade the Scottiſh territories. Of theſe, the caſtle of Edinburgh ſtill remained in the hands of the Engliſh. But, it was now amicably given up to Indulf, the friend and feudatory of the Engliſh ſovereign. The tranquillity of his reign was interrupted by a deſcent of the Scandinavian pirates, upon the ſhores of Buchan. But, they were repulſed, with great ſlaughter. Indulf reigned eight years †.

Tranſactions of Indulf's reign.

His ſucceſſor was Duff, prince of Cumberland. Colin, the ſon of Indulf, not content with the Cumbrian

Duff. A. D. 961.

* Forduni Scotichronicon, &c.

† Chroniçon Pictorum: Fordun. Lib. IV.

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Cumbrian principality reſigned to him by Duff, ſoon formed a faction againſt the new king; excited various inſurrections in his dominions, of which, as one was repreſſed, another ſtill broke out; and came at laſt to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the crown with him, in the field of battle. At Duncrub, in Strathern, Colin's army was defeated. The Abbot of Dunkeld, and the *Murmor** of Athol were ſlain in the engagement. But, in the following year, Colin prevailed: and Duff was ſlain, or driven into exile †.

Colin. A. D. 965.

Colin's reign was for five years. He, with his brother Eochoid were ſlain in battle by the Britons of Strath-Clyde or Cumberland ‡.

Kenneth. A. D. 970.

Kenneth, the ſon of Malcolm, ſucceeding to the ſovereignty vigorouſly proſecuted the war with the Britons. Although not unſucceſsful, he could not chaſtiſe them, without ſuffering ſevere loſſes in his own army. His next expedition, was into England, through which he carried his devaſtations as far as Stanmore and Dereham. But, the war with the Britons of Strath-Clyde was ſoon renewed, and continued till their royal family was extirpated or expelled: and their principality finally ſubjected to the

* A title of nobility, peculiar to this period of the Scottiſh hiſtory.

† Chron. Pict. Annals of Ulſter: Fordun. ‡ Idem.

the dominion of the Scots. The Galwegians, that mixed race of Britons, whoſe anceſtors had never owned the authority of Romans or of Saxons, of Romanized Britons, of Scots from Ireland, and of Northumbrian Angles, were now the only diſtinct and independent people who remained in the Weſt of Scotland.

Danes invade Argyleſhire.

Amidst theſe wars and ſucceſſes on his ſouthern and ſouth-weſtern frontiers, Kenneth's reign was alſo diſturbed by the Danes of the Iſles; who, after a deſperate and bloody engagement in Man, in which they ſeem to have finally ſubdued the old inhabitants; after plundering the monaſtery of Hyona, and maſſacring ſome of its monks; made a hoſtile deſcent on the coaſt of Argyleſhire; in which, however, they were defeated, and Godfrey, their king and leader, killed. Kenneth, amidſt his wars, prudently recommended himſelf to heaven, and to the clergy, by beſtowing Brechin upon the church *. But, the unſettled ſucceſſion of their kings; and the reſtleſs turbulence of their chieftains appear to have produced, about this period, frequent inteſtine diſſenſions and conſpiracies among the Scots: And, neither Kenneth's piety, nor his valour availed to ſave him from falling by the hand of a traitor.

To

* Annals of Ulſter: Chron. Manniæ.

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To Kenneth ſucceeded CONSTANTINE, the ſon of Colin; in whoſe favour that conſpiracy had probably been concerted, by which Kenneth was taken off. But, the other princes of the royal blood did not long ſuffer Conſtantine to enjoy a throne, to which he had made his way by treachery and murther. Grim, the ſon of Duff, aided and inſtigated, it ſhould ſeem, by Malcolm, the ſon of Kenneth and prince of Cumberland, whoſe rights he pretended to ſupport, ſoon raiſed a powerful army, and advanced to wreſt the crown from the uſurper. Conſtantine met him, on the banks of the Almond *. The two armies joined battle. The engagement was long, deſperate and bloody. Conſtantine, at laſt fell: His army was totally routed: And his adherents were finally diſperſed. The memory of this conflict is yet preſerved on the ſcene where it was fought. The neighbouring peaſantry, informed by tradition, tell how that, on that day of carnage, the ſtream of the Almond ran red into the Forth. Human ſkeletons, and bones, and pieces of armour are diſcovered, by the plough, thick over all the plain; ſo that, in religious reverence for the aſhes of the dead, the huſbandman ſometimes covers up the trench or furrow which he has unthinkingly opened. A rude ſtone, named by the peaſants *Cat-ſtane*, is ſaid to mark

Conſtantine IV.

A. D. 992.

Battle between Grim and Conſtantine.

* A river which runs into the frith of Forth at Cramond, about three miles north-weſt from Edinburgh.

mark the grave of Conſtantine. Three other large and rude pillars ſtill ſtand, the monuments of other leaders whoſe names are now unknown. An artificial mount, near one end of the plain, is ſaid to have been raiſed by the accumulation of the carcaſes, and the earth with which they were covered *. SECT. I. CH. III.

THUS victorious over Conſtantine, GRIM proceeded haſtily to Scone; and was there crowned king of Scotland. Malcolm of Cumberland, however indignant at this ſecond diſappointment, was, for a while, obliged to ſuffer Grim to enjoy, unmoleſted, the throne of which he had thus gained poſſeſſion. At length, leaving his Cumbrian dominions open to the invaſion of the Engliſh, he came northwards, to dethrone him whom he deemed the uſurper of his rights. And Grim was defeated and ſlain, after a reign of eight years †. Reign of Grim. A. D. 993.

MALCOLM's firſt care, after he aſcended the throne, appears to have been to reward thoſe who had followed his fortunes, and favoured his acceſſion, by a liberal diſtribution of the lands forfeited by the adherents of Grim, and of ſome ſhare even of the Crown-Domains. The expectations of his ſervants were fully gratified by his liberality: And their extravagant Liberality of Malcolm. A. D. 1001.



* Chron. Eleg: Regiſt. of St Andrews: and from the information of Mr Young, an intelligent farmer on the ſpot.

† Sim. Dun: Chron. Eleg: Reg. Sti. And.

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travagant acknowledgments of his bounty ſeem to have given riſe to the tale, ſince ſeriouſly repeated in our hiſtory; that Malcolm granted away all the poſſeſſions of the Crown, but the Mute-hill of Scone *.

Daniſh incurſions.

AT this period, all Britain was grievouſly infeſted by the deſcents of the Danes. It was not enough to repulſe once or twice, with whatever confuſion and ſlaughter, this fierce and piratical people. They renewed their inroads from time to time; held the inhabitants of Britain in continual alarm; and wearied out, by perſevering hoſtility, thoſe whom ſudden impetuoſity could not conquer. Maſters of the Orkneys, of the Hebudæ, and of Man; they now pillaged the weſtern coaſts of Britain; as they had long infeſted the eaſtern. Galloway, Cumberland, and North Wales were greatly waſted by their ravages. Malcolm, when prince of Cumbria, had bravely and ſteadily oppoſed them. But, while he contended for the Scottiſh throne, they effected a ſettlement in the Cumbrian territories. And ſoon after he had triumphed over his rival, they alarmed him by an invaſion of Moray and Buchan; where it was eaſy to ſeduce thoſe of their countrymen to join them, who had been long ſettled in theſe diſtricts. Yet, Malcolm drove away the invaders,

* Boethius.—Buchanan.—*Regiam Majeſtatem*, a Ioanne Skene, equite, editam.

vaders, and repreſſed the rebels: And he ſeems to have afterwards lived in amity with his Daniſh neighbours *. 

After a reign, more turbulent than peaceful, of thirty years duration, he died in the caſtle of Glammis; but, whether by a natural or a violent death, the obſcure inaccuracy of our ancient chroniclers makes it impoſſible for us to diſcover †. Death of Malcolm.

Duncan, grandſon of Malcolm, was the heir of his kingdom. The tranquillity of his government might indeed be diſturbed by ſome petty inſurrections and ſome unſucceſsful invaſions: but, it was reſerved for Duncan to fall by the hand of domeſtic treachery, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and immediately after his return from an unfortunate expedition into the North of England ‡. Reign of Duncan.

Macbeth now mounted that throne from which he had removed Duncan by murther. The wiſdom and energy of his government ſeemed, for a while, to juſtify the treaſon of this uſurper. But, in the mean time, many of the nobles who were loyally attached to the family of Duncan, retired to his ſon, Malcolm Canmore, in Cumberland. The po- Macbeth.

 pular

* Fordun. Boeth. Buchanan.

† Chron. Elegiacum.

‡ Chron. Eleg: Sim. Dunelm, &c.

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pular arts which Macbeth affected to practiſe, could never entirely reconcile the minds of the Scottiſh nation to his ſway. Malcolm was at length encouraged to avenge his father, and to aſſert his own right to the inheritance of the ſovereignty. Siward, earl of Northumberland, of Daniſh origin, accompanied Malcolm into Scotland, as the Ally of his expedition. Macbeth was purſued to Lumphanan, in Aberdeenſhire; and there ſlain, after a reign of ſeventeen years *.

Lulac.

BUT, the party of the enemies of Malcolm was not at once extinguiſhed by the death of Macbeth. LULAC, the nephew or grandſon of that uſurper, was inſtantly proclaimed king by ſuch of the adherents of the family, as either dreaded Malcolm's vengeance too much, or were too earneſt in their deſire of avenging the fall of Macbeth, to hope or ſeek a reconciliation with the victorious prince. Lulac's royalty, however, was only a paſſing ſhadow. He could not command the obedience of his adherents. They melted away from about him. Abandoned, at laſt, by all; he was ſurpriſed and ſlain by ſome of Malcolm's followers, at Eſſeg, in Strathbolgy †.

BOOK

* Chron. Eleg: Duan Albanach: Annals of Ulſter, &c.

† Chron. Eleg: Duan Albanach: Annals of Ulſter.

# BOOK I.

## Section II.

*Of the Local Circumstances, the Labours, the Knowledge, and the Enjoyments of the Inhabitants of Scotland and of the ſmaller Iſles immediately contiguous to its coaſts,—from its firſt diſcovery by the Romans to the acceſſion of King Malcolm Canmore.*

Introductory obſervations.

History performs but half her taſk, when ſhe records only the public transactions of a nation. The events are comparatively few, which relate, at once, to the common intereſts of a whole people. It is private life that exhibits the moſt intereſting, and moſt inſtructive ſcenes. Human character, unmarked by circumſtance or habit, is too general, to be clearly and diſcriminately comprehended by the intellect. To impreſs the imagination, feeling and action muſt be diſplayed in their minute modifications. How little is to be known of the energies and capacities of human nature, by ſurveying only the combats of army with army, or the negotiations of ſtate with ſtate!

The

Sect. II. The domeſtic Labours, Enquiries, Diſcoveries, Opinions, and Enjoyments of a People, are therefore not leſs worthy to be commemorated in Hiſtory, than their wars and political tranſactions. That would undoubtedly be the moſt perfect form of hiſtorical compoſition, in which the Hiſtorian ſhould, with the art of the Epic Poet, intermingle the hiſtory of manners with that of policy, ſo as to work them up together into one beautiful and orderly whole. But, the hiſtory of familiar life conſiſts of ſo great a multitude of detached particulars, as to be hardly ſuſceptible of ſuch curious perfection of ſtructure: And, in the diſtribution of parts, it is the taſte of the age, rather to ſubdivide than to combine.

Situation of Scotland.

Scotland, the northern diviſion of the iſland of Great Britain, lies between the fifty fourth and the fifty ninth degree of northern latitude; between the firſt and the ſeventh degree of weſtern longitude. The Tweed, on the eaſtern coaſt, and the Solway-frith, on the weſtern, define, where they reſpectively communicate with the German ocean and the Iriſh ſea, the extremities of the line of demarcation between Scotland and England. The German ocean, with the Deucaledonian, and the Iriſh ſeas flow around its eaſtern, northern, and weſtern coaſts. The iſles of Orkney and Shetland

ly

ly contiguous to its northern extremity: The Hebudæ are adjacent to its *north*-weſt ſhores; and Man is ſeen from the *ſouth*-weſt ſhore *. SECT. II.

IN the commencement of the firſt period of its hiſtory, the country of Scotland was univerſally overgrown with wood; except on the very verge of its ſhores; on the brinks of ſome parts in the courſe of ſome of its rivers; on the cliffs of its rocks, deſtitute of ſoil, and unfit to nouriſh vegetation; on ſome low-lying tracts, where the ſtagnation of the waters, the decay of trees and other vegetables, the irregular diſperſion of earth and fragments of rock from the higher grounds, with the growth of water plants—had already formed moraſſes; and on a few narrow ſpots, here and there, where the natives had perhaps felled a tree, to make room for a hut, or to uſe it for domeſtic purpoſes †. Ancient aſpect of the country.

THE animals of theſe foreſts and moraſſes were not numerous. Several were ferocious; and they were almoſt all wild. Wolves and foxes lurked among the thickets, in caves, on the mountains, and in the depth of the woods; and preyed almoſt as rapaciouſly as their human neighbours, on the gentler animals of which theſe had not yet aſſumed Its animals.

* Camden's Britan. by Gough: Ainſlie map of Scotl. from an actual ſurvey: Statiſt. account *paſſim*.

† Boeth. Hiſt. Sibbaldi Prodrom. *paſſim*: Statiſt. account *paſſim*.

Sect. II. fumed the care. The *Aurochs*, whoſe bones and horns are yet often found buried under many layers of earth, were the largeſt of the ancient Caledonian quadrupeds; although not nouriſhed by carnage, yet the ſlighteſt provocation was, at any time enough to exaſperate them to rage; and their rage was death to almoſt every other inhabitant of the foreſt. The ſtag and the roe, as weaker and leſs fierce, were much more expoſed than the auroch, to the rapacity of the wolf and the hunter. Thoſe numbers of wild fowls and birds of prey which yet frequent our ſhores, woods, and mountains were then more numerous, as being more undiſturbed. The rivers abounded with fiſhes: The narrow ſeas lying around, received perhaps more prodigious ſhoals of theſe animals than at preſent: Some of the cetaceous ſpecies which have ſince retired northwards, to regions leſs acceſſible to men, appear to have, in thoſe times, frequented the Scottiſh ſhores. Various reptiles which have been ſince extirpated, then infeſted the woods. And, inſects were generated in much greater multitudes, while the country was yet unopened, and uncultivated *.

Climate. The climate of Scotland, even now cold, moiſt, and variable, was then much more ſo; for cultivation and copious population, partly by their neceſſary

* Sibbaldi Prodrom. Britiſh Zoology: Statiſt. Account *paſſim*.

Sect. II.

sary and unintended effects, partly by expedients employed for this very purpose, always soften the rigours of climate, and render the temperature of a northern atmosphere less ungenial. The woods which, in other circumstances might have warmed, by sheltering the face of the country, served then only as repositories of noxious moisture *.

Heads of the arrangement of the history of the manners of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland.

In such local circumstances, the *industry* of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland could hardly be either very assiduous, or very ingenious; their *knowledge*, correct or extensive; their *enjoyments*, various or refined. But, the Britons, Picts, and Scots; the Saxons; and the Danes, were not more distinguished from one another by the events in their respective histories, than by diversities of national character, and peculiarities of manners. We have, however, seen that all these different nations once inhabited together in Scotland. The present Scots are their mingled posterity. And among them all then must we look, to discover the familiar manners, and the characteristic peculiarities of our remote ancestors. Thus shall we find ourselves perplexed by multiplicity of facts, and by the complication of circumstances, even when endeavouring to discriminate the rude simplicity of savage life.



* Buffon Histoire Naturelle: Sibbaldi Prodrom. Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ.

Sect. II. I. The Britons, Scots, and Picts muſt be grouped together; for we have no genuine records, no certain monuments, hardly any thing but differences of name and of local ſituation, with the memory of their mutual hoſtilities, to enable us to diſtinguiſh them from one another.

Labours of the Britons, Scots, and Picts. Hunting and fiſhing appear to have been the chief means by which the Mæatæ and Caledonians procured their ſubſiſtence: at the time when they were invaded by Agricola. In ſuch a country, as that which they inhabited, there could be little agriculture, and hardly any regular paſturage of flocks or herds of domeſtic animals. The warriour contended for his meal with the carnivorous animals of the foreſt. If unſucceſsful in the chaſe, he might periſh for hunger. It was his daily employment; for a boar, a ſtag, a roe, or a bullock was devoured almoſt aſſoon as ſlain; nor could ſavages, unacquainted with the arts of retarding putrefaction, preſerve any great ſtore of animal food: They might know to dry a portion of a carcaſe in the ſmoke; but to the uſe of ſalt they were ſtrangers.——Of fiſhing they were more negligent; and, indeed, fiſhing being an employment which requires rather patient aſſiduity than ardent exertion, which demands inſtruments of nice and ingenious manufacture, and of which the exerciſe implies no high ſuperiority in ſtrength or

or courage, is leſs ſuited than hunting, to the vi- Sect. II.
gorous but unſteady efforts of the ſavage.—In a climate, in which no vines could grow, and without grain to afford ſtrong drink by fermentation; the ancient Caledonians can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have prepared any ſpirituous liquors: And yet, ſince almoſt all ſavages, however rude or ignorant, are found to have one contrivance or another for procuring to themſelves the tranſports of intoxication; it is not improbable, that the Caledonians, even in the rudeſt ſtate of their manners, might uſe the infuſion of ſome plant or perhaps a preparation of diluted honey for this purpoſe.—They might, ſometimes, in the frenzy of hunger, devour the carcaſe of a beaſt killed in the chaſe, raw, and while its limbs were yet trembling with life: but, they more commonly broiled their meat upon the coals.—Caves in the rocks; round huts wrought of wattles, and daubed with clay: and perhaps logs of wood, or looſe ſtones piled inartificially together, and covered on the roof with ferns or brambles, were the only habitations in which they knew to ſhelter themſelves.—The ſkins of the animals which they ſlew in the chaſe formed the beſt part of their dreſs. But, ſince theſe would but ill protect the body, under ſo inclement a climate; the Caledonians could hardly be without ſome rude art for preparing articles of cloathing

Sec. II. from hair, from wool, or from the rind of ſome plant. It is uncertain, whether the ſheep be a native of this iſland, or had been brought ſo far north, at the time when the Romans penetrated into Caledonia. But, if they had indeed ſheep, the natural uſe of wool is ſo obvious, that the ancient Caledonians could not well fail to diſcover it.—Weapons for offence and defence are among the firſt inſtruments, that the ſavage learns to form: Long ſpears pointed with braſs, and ſmall ſhields, woven of wattles and covered with pieces of ſkins, were the moſt remarkable weapons which the Caledonians uſed in the famous battle in which they were defeated by Agricola: The bow was the only other formidable offenſive weapon with which they had learned to arm themſelves: Their woods, mountains, and marſhes afforded them ſo many naturally advantageous military ſtations, that they had not yet been led to form any ſtrongly fortified encampments. As little had they been accuſtomed to ſubject themſelves to the order of military diſcipline: But, they had horſes and chariots of war; although it ſeems to have been rather for the ſake of the terrour which their horſes and carriages produced by their very appearance, for the confuſion which they occaſioned by their march, and for the convenience of flight, than for any advantage in actual combat, that they brought them to the field of battle:—

They

They uſed military enſigns: The clangour of their ſhields, the wild ſcreams of ſavage fury, and perhaps the rude ſongs of attending bards, were all their martial muſic: To make themſelves more terrible, they painted their bodies with woad from South-Britain, or perhaps with the juice of herbs, or with the blood of animals.—Living in an iſland, on the ſea-ſhore, and on the banks of rivers, they had been urged by theſe local circumſtances, to the invention of vehicles for navigation: They had hollowed trunks of trees, like the canoes of the Indians, and little wicker-boats, the keels of which were pieces of light wood, and the hulk of the boat neatly covered with hides: In theſe frail veſſels, they croſſed rivers, paſſed from iſle to iſle, and even braved the dangers of the German ocean, and of the Deucaledonian, and the Iriſh ſea: They were always fitted with oars; ſometimes with both oars and ſails: Thongs of leather were uſed, inſtead of our cords and ropes: The ſtars guided the mariner, when out at ſea, beyond the ſight of land: Their lakes might be oftener navigated by the Caledonians, in theſe ſlender veſſels, than the open ſea: but, it ſeems probable, that the lakes in the northern parts of Scotland were then, perhaps leſs numerous, and certainly, ſeveral of them, leſs extenſive than at preſent; for the marſhes ſo frequent in ancient Caledonia, were incipient lakes; ſome of which, the clearing

Sec. II.

Sec. II. clearing away of the woods and other expedients have ſince almoſt dried up, while others have been covered deep with ſtagnating water. The dog was the only domeſtic animal *common* among the ancient Caledonians: The horſe had not been long introduced into their country; and was trained only for the purpoſes of war or of the chaſe: The ſavage wants the patience, the gentleneſs, and the caution requiſite for the domeſtication of wild animals.—Their houſhold utenſils were few, and of artleſs manufacture: Wicker-baſkets, ſhells, diſhes of wood, ſeats of ſtone and of turfs. In the ſcarcity of the uſeful metals, they were obliged to form their axes and their knives of ſtones, and commonly to point their arrows with the ſame materials: They cut the hides and wrought the bones of ſlain animals into many convenient utenſils: Rough ſkins, ſpread either on bundles of heath or ferns, or on the bare ground, were their beds: Wood, their only fuel.——In winter, as in ſummer, they followed thoſe labours by which their daily ſuſtenance was provided. It is even doubtful whether any of them had yet been accuſtomed to drink the milk of the goat, the ſheep, or the cow, which might have afforded ſome ſmall ſupply of food, when the chaſe could not be purſued *. Thus, in the annoyance and defence of war, in paddling naval expeditions, in the manufacture of weapons, of clothes, and of houſhold utenſils,

utenſils, in building huts, of whatever form, in ſcooping out canoes or framing wicker-boats, in hunting, in providing fuel, in preparing whatever ſimple beverage they drank, and in dreſſing their victuals—were the men and women of ancient Caledonia chiefly employed. Theſe were all their ſerious labours; unleſs we ſhould add occaſional fiſhing, and the taming of a horſe or an ox, or the management of a few ſheep or goats. Sec. II.

But, if the arts of thoſe old inhabitants of Scotland were rude, their labour awkward and indolent: Their principles of Knowledge were proportionately few and narrow: many of their Opinions, although natural, wild and abſurd. Knowledge.

Of *material* nature, they knew little. The changes of the ſeaſons, ſuch as they experienced them in their own bleak abodes; the winds that blew on their own coaſts; the ſtars that guided their courſe at ſea; perhaps the igniting powers of the flint; thoſe obvious qualities of fire, water, earth, and air which force themſelves upon the eye, the ear, the touch, Of material nature.

* See Tacitus in Vita Agricola C. X. to XXXIX.—Oſſian's works, *paſſim*; Macpherſon's Intro. 8. 244 to 286, 3d. edit.—Smith's Galic Antiquities, &c. *paſſim*.—Henry's Britain, Vol. I. B. I. ch. 5, 6, and 7.—Statiſt. Account *paſſim*.—Muſeum of the Univerſity of Edin. and repoſitories of the Edin. Antiq. Soc.—Pinkerton, vol. I. part 3. ch. 12.—Antiquarian Tranſ. of Edin. *paſſim*.

Sec. II. touch, the taſte, the ſmell even of the dulleſt and moſt careleſs obſerver: With theſe objects and qualities of objects they were neceſſarily more or leſs acquainted. The animals alſo which they purſued in the chaſe; the foreſts, marſhes, rivers, mountains, and heaths within their own domains; the reſpective manners of the neighbours with whom they warred, or reciprocally ſhared the endearments of hoſpitality; the rules of thoſe ſimple arts which we have ſeen that they practiſed; a little perhaps, and but a little concerning thoſe diſtant civilized nations from whom the wondrous productions of ingenious art were ſometimes tranſmitted into their hands: Theſe are ſo many other particulars which might naturally enough fall within their knowledge. They counted the revolutions of the moon and of the ſun. And they might perhaps imperfectly preſerve the memory of paſt time, for a ſeries of three or four generations.

Virtues. YET, their *moral notions* were, in ſeveral particulars, leſs incorrect, than might at firſt be ſuppoſed. Parents were reverenced; and they cheriſhed and loved their children with tender anxiety: Brothers were attached to each other with affection becoming the intimacy of their childhood, and their common relation to the ſame parents: The men were the protectors, admirers, and ſervants, not the tyrants of the

the women. Chaſtity and fidelity to their virtuous attachments were the deareſt ornaments of the female ſex; as truth and courage of the male. The laws of friendſhip and of hoſpitality were held inviolably ſacred. A vanquiſhed enemy was often ſpared with a generoſity which is not always compatible with the infuriated ferocity of ſavage revenge. The feeble, the helpleſs, the oppreſſed were aided, protected, avenged with enthuſiaſtic eagerneſs. The memory of departed friends was cheriſhed with tender and permanent regret. Fame was the firſt wiſh of every youth: He died with proud joy, who fell on the field of battle amidſt falling and fleeing enemies: He who was defeated, although after performing prodigies of valour, dreaded to meet the eye of his friend or miſtreſs *. Sec. II.

Vices.

But, theſe were the moſt correct and exalted ſentiments of the moſt heroic characters among the ancient Caledonians. The moral principles of the meaner herd were ſufficiently groſs and rude. Strength and fierce courage were too commonly eſteemed the only meaſures of right. The delicacy and innocence of the female ſex were often, without remorſe, forcefully violated. It was only the moſt extraordinary magnanimity which diſdained the practice of that treachery which is, among ſa-



* Oſſian's Works;—Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, &c.

Sect. II. vages, the moſt uſual engine of injury or revenge. A lovely and admired woman would ſometimes betray a father, a brother, or a lover. In the impetuoſity of ſudden paſſion, one friend would murther another, and bewail the deed with only the moſt tranſient remorſe and regret. The laws of hoſpitality were, many times, baſely violated by the gueſt, or by his hoſt. The very familiar intercourſe of the two ſexes which neceſſarily took place in the ſimplicity of Caledonian manners, was ſometimes abuſed by the wanton paſſions of both. Parents ſometimes, and ſometimes children, amid their reſpective difficulties and diſtreſſes, forgat their mutual duties. The paſſions either ſubſided into the moſt inert languor, or raged with the turbulence of the whirlwind; moderation, calm, yet feeling and active, was unknown *.

Civil order. THUS are the moſt generous, and the meaneſt ſentiments often mingled together in the human character, where men are not yet combined in any formal aſſociation, nor the conditions of ſocial life expreſſed in any acknowledged inſtitutions. The Caledonians had not, at this period, united themſelves under an eſtabliſhed form of *Government*. They had no ſyſtem of laws. Nature, cuſtom, and accident were their only maſters and guides in their civil connections

* Oſſian, *paſſim*; Smith's Antiquities, &c.

connections and duties. The wife confeſſed the authority of her huſband: the children of their father, at leaſt, during the weakneſs and inexperience of infancy and early youth. Where the heads of ſeveral families were met together, he who had the ſuperiority in experienced wiſdom, ſtrength, and valour, was reſpected, if not obeyed by the reſt. A family of gallant ſons, with a father at their head, who was diſtinguiſhed by the many heroic deeds which he had performed, and by the wiſdom which he had thus acquired, were naturally honoured with a pre-eminence among their countrymen. If brave and victorious in war, ſucceſsful in the chaſe, and living together in cordial harmony, they neceſſarily, by the dread and admiration of their valour, and by their liberal hoſpitality, drew friends and followers to attach themſelves to them: And all the neighbouring families ſank inſenſibly into dependence upon this band of heroes. When the father died, or drooped under the infirmities of age, not the eldeſt, but the braveſt and wiſeſt of his ſons ſucceeded to the whole, or to ſome part of his authority. Meanwhile, the union was voluntary, without reſtraint and without obligation. Whoever choſe, might deſert the ſociety, and retire at pleaſure to ſolitary independence, or to join other friends. Conquered enemies were either maſſacred in fierce rage, or generouſly pardoned, and left to

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Sec. II. the free enjoyment of their former ſtate. Seldom were they reduced to ſervitude; but, if this, in any inſtance, happened, it was to the moſt abject, domeſtic ſlavery.—Quarrels might ariſe, and death enſue, among a family and their adherents; but formal judgment or puniſhment was not thought of, in ſuch caſes; there was no acknowledged public body; there were no known public intereſts; and private retribution was all that was required. As their uſeful poſſeſſions were few; ſo were their ideas of property indiſtinct and imperfect. No formal diviſion or appropriation of the lands had, as yet, taken place among them. But, each family, or aſſociation of families were ready to puniſh as intruders, any ſtrangers whom they might find purſuing the chaſe, without their permiſſion, within that extent of hunting-grounds which they had been themſelves accuſtomed to range. The boar or deer which any one had ſlain was the acknowledged property of the ſlayer. Each family had their own houſe, and houſhold utenſils. The warriour had his weapons, his faithful dog, and perhaps his horſe. The prior occupation of any object, and the employment of induſtry upon it, conſtituted that object, in their eſtimation, the property of him who had occupied and wrought it. Property might be acquired, too, by the fortune of war, and from the gift of a former proprietor. It was not abſolutely barter;

barter; but poſſeſſions were frequently exchanged by mutual gift. No general ſigns of value were yet uſed; how indeed ſhould they, where induſtry and traffic were not yet practiſed? It is not till after the diviſion and appropriation of the land, that legal ceremonies are invented, to give due formality to the acts of the transference and acquiſition of property. With theſe the Caledonians were, therefore, as yet unacquainted *. Sec. II.

Their *Religion* could not refine their moral ſentiments, or correct their cuſtoms; but, it gave, by its influence, a powerful ſanction to thoſe principles which prevailed, and to the ſentiments that were admired among them: for, the prieſts, aided by fancied Divinities, and armed with the terrours of futurity, had ſucceeded in arrogating to themſelves an authority which was not yet claimed by the Chiefs. The Romans have deſcribed the prieſthood of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, by the name of Druids. Only from the Greeks and Romans have we received any original information concerning thoſe prieſts and the religion of which they were miniſters. The fragments of old Caledonian poetry which tradition has preſerved, if they hint at them at all, hint too darkly and ambiguouſly, to afford us clear information concerning them. Religion.

* Tacitus in Vita Agricolæ: Oſſian *paſſim*: Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.

Sec. II. them. But, we have remains of many rude monuments which, although they be not deſcribed in the Roman accounts of Druidiſm, cannot be referred to any other thing in the œconomy of the ancient Caledonians, with the ſame fair probability, as to their religion.—It is likewiſe true, that the Druids of whom the Romans ſpeak, and the Druidiſm which they deſcribe, were ſeated in South Britain and in Gaul, not in Caledonia. But, their accounts ſeem to imply, that the ſame ſuperſtition prevailed through all Britain. And the ſame monuments which are aſcribed to Druidiſm in South Britain, are alſo numerous through Scotland.

Druids. The Druids choſe for their abodes, and for the ſcenes of their religious ſolemnities, the deep receſſes of the thickeſt woods. They cultivated, with devout care, the oak, the miſletoe with which it is often entwined, and perhaps ſome other vegetables, to which they attributed a myſterious power. They commemorated in verſes, which they learned to repeat, the myſteries of their ſuperſtition, and perhaps the annals of their country. The ſun and the ſtars were the objects of their rude ſcience, and poſſibly alſo of their worſhip. They adored certain Deities, whom they fancied to preſide over the order of nature, and the concerns of human life. To theſe Deities they offered ſometimes human

man victims; the moſt helpleſs and deſpiſed perſons of a tribe, the criminal doomed to death by their authority, or the captive taken in war. A hollow frame was wrought of ſlender rods; in this the miſerable victim was incloſed; he was then caſt alive into the ſacred fire, and burnt to death. The Druids were the only inſtructors of youth; and they exerciſed a judiciary power over all who ſubmitted to the empire of their ſuperſtition. The ſacred groves have been deſtroyed, within the gloom of which the darker rites of that ſuperſtition were celebrated: but circles of ſtones yet remain in which the Druids performed ſome of their ceremonies; while the people perhaps ſtood around, at an awful diſtance. In theſe circles, the ſtones ſtand in a vertical poſition, and at equal diſtances: the areas which they incloſe, vary in extent: the ſtones, in number and in magnitude: the ſmaller circles muſt have been intended for the reception of a ſmaller; the greater, of a more numerous Druidical aſſembly: ſometimes there are two concentric circles of ſtones, with an intermediate ſpace between the two: within or beſide ſome circles, are two ſtones, of which the one is ſo ſkilfully poiſed upon the other, that the ſlighteſt effort will move it from ſide to ſide; although the force of many perſons together, would hardly be ſufficient to overturn it from its place: And this is, with great probability conjectured, SEC. II.

Sec. II. tured, but only conjectured, to have been one among other contrivances by which the Druids perſuaded a ſimple people that they were endowed with ſupernatural power, or could readily command the intervention of thoſe deities whom they adored. The Druids appear to have been divided into ranks and orders: And an Archdruid preſided over the whole. Their authority was not ſanctioned by civil inſtitutions; but was merely the cuſtomary authority uſurped by ſuperſtition and artful impoſture, over fear and ignorance. They ſeem to have been a prieſthood, that aroſe, and formed a ſyſtem by ſlow degrees, in the progreſſes of the Celtic tribes from region to region, and in the long duration of Celtic barbariſm. In the hands of intereſted impoſture, ſuperſtition is eaſily moulded into a ſyſtem. As the miniſters of the Gods, the Druids were exempted from the ſervices and the dangers of war. This exemption, with their power, their wealth, and honours, attracted numbers to enter their ſociety. However diſperſed among various tribes, and through different regions, they held general aſſemblies, in which the whole body of the Druids appear to have met, if not individually, perhaps by repreſentation. Some tribes ſeem to have acknowledged their authority, and to have received their doctrines, with leſs abject and implicit ſubmiſſion, than others. It is doubtful, whether they had attained to the ſame

ſame ſupremacy of power in Caledonia, as in South Britain, and in Gaul. Thoſe fierce warriours who were ſometimes ready to defy the Gods themſelves, might be unwilling to honour the arrogance of their miniſters. One great principle which the Druids uſed in eſtabliſhing their authority was the doctrine of the *immortality* of the human *ſoul*. They taught, that the vital and ſentient part of man, ſurviving the diſſolution of the body, paſſed through various ſtates of honour or ignominy, of happineſs or miſery, according to its moral merits or demerits. Yet this doctrine was, by ſome modified into a belief, that the ſoul was, at death, inveſted in a light, aerial vehicle, and paſſed into the airy halls of the clouds; in which the deceaſed enjoyed, in ſome reſpects, happineſs and power more than human; yet were, otherwiſe in a condition in which they might envy the ſtrength, the valour, the glory, the felicity of the yet mortal hero. Theſe inhabitants of the clouds were ſtill tenderly intereſted in the fortunes of their poſterity and ſurviving friends; they ſtill retained their wonted reſentment againſt their ancient enemies: They would often aid the former in difficulties, and forewarn them of dangers; they were ſtill ready to purſue the latter with deeds of hatred. *Theſe laſt* appear to have been the *vulgar opinions* concerning the ſtate of the dead, ſuggeſted, naturally, in the circumſtances of the Sec. II.

Sec. II. ancient Caledonians, by their ſimplicity, their ignorance, their hopes and fears. *The former* was the doctrine of the prieſts, perhaps borrowed from the prieſts of ſome other religion, or modelled by ſpeculation, and with intereſted deſigns. The ceremonies of ſepulture were, among the firſt inhabitants of Scotland, ſimple, as their ideas of future exiſtence. A grave was dug; ſix oblong ſtones were brought; of theſe, one was laid, to ſeparate the corpſe from the bare earth, in the bottom of the grave; four others were then fitted to the ſides, and to both ends: the body, with ſome of the favourite weapons, ornaments, and utenſils of the perſon deceaſed, were then depoſited within; the ſixth flag was laid over it; earth and ſtones were heaped on; and the whole was covered up with turf. A rude pillar of ſtone might be ſometimes erected to diſtinguiſh the grave of an eminent chief: or ſometimes, inſtead of earth, ſeveral large ſtones might be laid on, to protect the grave. He who ſuffered a violent death, as a puniſhment for his crimes, had his infamy perpetuated by a heap of ſtones haſtily and looſely caſt upon his carcaſe. We know not what ceremonies, the ſuperſtition of the Caledonians had preſcribed, to mark the initiation of infancy into ſocial life, or the union of marriage.

Sec. II. Poetry; muſic; and writing.

Little acquainted as the ancient Caledonians were, with the phyſical phænomena of nature, without ſettled principles of morality, without eſtabliſhed policy, and ſubject to a religion of which the direct tendency was, to ſtamp deeper the impreſſion of their native barbariſm: Yet, had they learned to practiſe, in its faireſt perfection, the nobleſt of the fine arts. They ſoothed their diſtreſſes, they animated their courage, they cheriſhed their tender affections, they preſerved the memory of departed heroes, and they rouſed the youth to emulate their fathers' fame, by the magic influence of poeſy, aided by muſic. Their bards had, probably, been, at firſt, the diſciples of the Druids. They might be an inferior order, dependent upon the Druidical hierarchy; but mingling in the intercourſe of ſociety, and acting as the miniſters of the inſtructions and commands of the Druids, who dedicated themſelves to the more myſterious exerciſes of their religion, in awful retirement. If the youth were commonly ſent to receive an education among the Druids; what had theſe to teach them, but the ſecret doctrines, and more myſterious rites of their religion; or elſe thoſe ſongs in which their popular doctrines and their records of public events were conveyed, with thoſe rhythmic arts by which they were compoſed and ſung?—Thus, whether gradually communicated by the intervention of the bards,

SEC. II. acting as a ſort of Lay-Druids; or expreſsly and profeſſedly taught to thoſe youths who, although not deſtined to a life of prieſtly eaſe, were, however, ſent to be educated among the Druids; the arts of Poeſy and Muſic were propagated among the ancient Caledonians. After valour and ſtratagem in war, and in the chaſe, the hero next aſpired to diſtinguiſh himſelf by poetical eminence. Where all the arts of ſenſual luxury were unknown, the influence of poeſy was neceſſarily great. The rude and ſimple muſic with which it was accompanied, was ſuch as to enforce, not to weaken its effects. The rhythmic contrivances were not ſo complex or artificial, as to withdraw the regard of the Compoſer, or the Hearer from the ſentiments and imagery. It was poetry in its pureſt form that the Caledonian bard compoſed and ſung. To him the artifices of ſtructure, the diverſities of compoſition, the cold abſtractions of Reaſoning, and the tricks of wit were unknown. Thoſe ſentiments with which his heart burned or languiſhed, and thoſe images of which his fancy retained a vivid impreſſion, were all that he expreſſed in his verſe. The maddened paſſions, the deſperate efforts, the carnage, the furious joy, the ſullen ſorrow of the field of battle; friendſhip, love, duteous affection, generous ſympathy lacerated or wrung to the agonies of death, by thoſe calamities to which the weakneſs and ignorance of Humanity

are

Sec. II.

are ever expoſed, but eſpecially where men are not yet knit together by all the poſſible ties of ſocial union: the varying aſpects of the heavens, the raging of the ocean, the impetuoſity of the torrent, the bleak extent of the heath, the frowning height of the precipice or the rocky mountain: the fancied forms of ghoſts and ſupernatural exiſtences, with the feelings and the modes of life aſcribed to them: Theſe were the treaſures out of which the Caledonian bard drew the rich materials of his ſong. In more enlightened and civilized ages, poetry becomes more artificial, is degraded by the familiarity of language, is fettered by rules, and is debaſed by the alloy of trite general truths, and unperſonified abſtractions. With the ſimple barbarian, it is more unmixed and energetic. Thoſe ſpecimens of ancient Caledonian poetry which have, happily, been preſerved to our age, have not, indeed, been given to the world, ſuch as tradition has preſerved them. The tranſlators and editors have avowedly pruned them of many blemiſhes. They have thus left them a leſs faithful picture of arts and manners, than they might otherwiſe have been. Yet, even in this ſtate, theſe remains are genuine monuments of old Caledonian poetry. They ſhew, of what materials it was wrought, and what a ſpirit was breathed through it.—The *muſic* with which this poetry was originally accompanied, although preſerved

Sec. II. preſerved yet more imperfectly than the poetry, ſtill beſpeaks the impetuous or the penſive character of the ancient Caledonians in the ſonorous hoarſeneſs of the bagpipe, and in the tender, plaintive ſoftneſs of the vocal air.—But the Caledonians had no ſort of *written ſigns*, by which they might have preſerved or communicated either their poetry or their muſic. The invention of theſe, being one of the moſt difficult exertions of human ingenuity, cannot be accompliſhed at once, and is not likely to be tried by ſavages, ſo ſimple in their notions and their modes of life, and ſo little capable of complex abſtractions, as were the firſt inhabitants of Scotland. Of all the various alphabets of different nations and languages, ancient and modern, perhaps not more than one or two are of abſolutely original invention. The reſt have been formed from theſe, by hint and imitation. Even where different parties of mankind have been the moſt entirely ſecluded from mutual intercourſe, yet there have they found means to acquire from one another, the moſt neceſſary and the moſt remarkable of the arts peculiar to each: And written ſigns once invented, were much more eaſily transferred and imitated, than invented a ſecond time. It was not, therefore, till after the Roman alphabet had been communicated by the chriſtian clergy of Britain to their converts in Ireland, and by theſe again to their converts in the

the Hebudæ, and the north-weſtern promontories of Scotland, that the ſongs of the old Caledonian Bards could be reduced into writing. As poetry, in its origin, precedes the art of writing, ſo proſaic compoſition is hardly ever attempted, till after this art has been, for ſome time, practiſed. We have no reaſon to believe, that proſe was written among the Caledonians, before this and other literary arts were introduced among them by the Iriſh clergy *. Sec. II.

The Enjoyments, (or the quantity and the quality of the happineſs) of a people, neceſſarily depend upon their local circumſtances, on the quantity and the modes of their induſtry, on the nature and the extent of their knowledge, and on the correctneſs or abſurdity of their opinions. Had the Caledonians been endowed with ſenſibility leſs exquiſite; they might, at leaſt have ſuffered leſs miſery, if they had not enjoyed greater happineſs. Yet, as it was rather ſenſibility of affections, than of bodily feeling by which they were ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed; they were leſs diſtreſſed, than might be at firſt ſuppoſed, by their want of the accommodations of civilized life, and their expoſure to the ſeverities of nature. The hungry Caledonian might devour his half-broiled fleſh, and quaff his mead, his heath-ale,

* Cæſar de B. G. L. VI.—Tacit. in Vita Agr.—Oſſian, and Smith, *paſſim*.——Macpherſon's Diſſert. and Intro.—Whitaker's Manchester, &c.—Aſtle's Hiſt. of Writing, p. 115. plate XXII.

SEC. II. ale, or birchen wine with a reliſh keener and more gratifying, than the modern epicure can know, with all his dainties. The pleaſures of love and friendſhip were exalted and endeared to him by the difficulties and dangers amidſt which he enjoyed them. It was rapture, to return with honour, from a perilous adventure, into the boſom of his family. To a heart throbbing with that high ſenſe of reputation which the Caledonian felt, the ſong of the bard, celebrating his deeds, muſt have given inexpreſſible delight. Whatever tended to rouſe thoſe paſſions which, in their impetuoſity, are accompanied with a conſciouſneſs of energy, neceſſarily gave him happineſs. The moment of gratification, whether of love, of reſentment, or of the deſire of power or praiſe, was rapturous. When his paſſions were calm, he was in a ſtate of indifference and torpor; if not happy, yet not miſerable. Only weakneſs or diſgrace of which he was ſtrongly conſcious, could make him wretched. Thirſt and hunger, he could long endure, before their ſenſations roſe to agony. Defeat might ſoon be compenſated by victory. One hardſhip ſoon effaced the memory of another. It was temporary agony, not laſting anguiſh, with which the Caledonian's heart was affected, when a parent, a child, a friend, a wife, or a miſtreſs was divided from him by death. He was more gratified by the hopes, than terrified by

by the fears of religion. At death, he rejoiced in the proſpect of joining his departed friends in their airy halls. In danger he would often fancy that the ghoſts of his fathers nerved his arm, whiſpered counſels to his ear, or blaſted his opponents. Did hoſtile ghoſts oppoſe him, he dared to croſs them. Of all mankind, he is ſurely the happieſt, who enjoys the moſt entire independence of nature, and of his fellow-animals; and at the ſame time, the greateſt power over his own feelings, and the greateſt ability to controul the operations of nature and the ſentiments and actions of other animated beings. Tried by this law, the condition of the barbarous Caledonian was unqueſtionably happier than that of many of the members of the beſt regulated and the moſt highly civilized ſociety; inferior only to the condition of him, in whom the wiſdom of the ſage is united with the ardour of the hero, and the nervous force of the ruſtic. His exiſtence, but not his felicity, was leſs ſecure, than it might have been in a ſtate of higher civilization. The only real enjoyment of poliſhed life to which he was a ſtranger, was that of temperate exertion, in which the whole vigour of mind or body is not liable to be exhauſted by one or two efforts, nor is deſtruction the inſtant conſequence of failure. In the keeneſt contention of combat; paddling his *curragh* amidſt the moſt furious raging of the waves; *drinking with* SECT. II.

Sect. II. *rapt ear*, the ſong of the bard, raiſed in his praiſe; denying himſelf thoſe enjoyments which affection or generoſity could beſtow on an object of kindneſs or of pity; mangling or humbling an enemy; reſting when he could no longer ſupport fatigue; eating and drinking rapaciouſly, when thirſt and hunger urged; triumphing even in death, in the conſciouſneſs of heroic valour: In ſuch ſituations, making theſe exertions, indulging theſe ſentiments, ſnatching ſuch gratifications; did the Caledonian receive all the enjoyments compatible with his character and condition *.

The above view of the Caledonians imperfect, but genuine.

Such, then, as nearly as can now be known, were the people whom the Romans found in Caledonia, in their labours, their knowledge, and their enjoyments. Where conjecture has been boldly advanced as hiſtoric truth, or where the manners of ſeveral different ages, and ſeveral different nations have been indiſcriminately blended together, and aſcribed all to this people and to this period in their hiſtory; their character appears very different, in the deſcription, from what it is here repreſented to have been. But, who would not prefer a miniature portrait of a revered anceſtor, even although partly defaced or mutilated; on the lineaments of which he might gaze, with the fond aſſurance, that they

* Scriptores ſupra citatos.

they are the genuine imitation of thoſe features which he delights to recognize; to a fine and freſh full-length figure, bearing no likeneſs of the perſon whom it was ſaid to repreſent?

Sect. II.

Condition of the Mæatæ.

The *Mæatæ*, as being, in ſituation, more contiguous to thoſe parts in which the Druids had their chief ſeats, and which Foreigners had been accuſtomed to viſit for the ſake of traffic, might perhaps have acquired ſome arts and conveniencies which had not been yet communicated to the Caledonians. Thoſe commercial nations which had viſited Britain, to carry away cargoes of its tin and other natural productions, might be little ſolicitous to enlighten or civilize the native inhabitants of the iſland; yet would undoubtedly contribute ſomething, to improve their modes of life. They might introduce, perhaps ſome tame animals. They muſt have ſhewn the uſe of utenſils, before unknown. They would, neceſſarily, diſtribute many rarities of art among the wondering Britons. The Belgic Britons, a more induſtrious and intelligent people, than their Celtic neighbours, practiſed huſbandry, and ſome of the more ingenious manufactures, at the time when Britain was firſt invaded by Cæſar. There is indeed in the character and condition of ſavage tribes, ſomething that repels the acceſſion of the arts: Yet, the arts introduced into Britain by the

Sect. II. Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Belgæ, muſt have been, by ſlow degrees communicated from tribe to tribe, till they might, at length, have advanced a conſiderable way northward. Still more certainly would the tame animals which they brought in, be propagated, and the *productions* of the new arts diffuſed, through the iſland. It appears, therefore, probable, although relics and records be wanting, to confirm the probability, that the Mæatæ might, at this time, poſſeſs ſome articles of accommodation, and practiſe ſome arts which the Caledonians had not yet acquired. They had perhaps a greater number of tame animals, and might have begun to exchange the habits of the hunter for thoſe of paſtoral life *.

The ancient inhabitants of Scotland, without diverſity of manners.

The *Scots* of Argyleſhire, were, probably, diſtinguiſhed from the Britons and the Caledonians, by their deſcent from anceſtors who had paſſed from Britain into Ireland, and had again furniſhed colonies to people the North Weſt of Scotland. But, however diſtinguiſhed in their deſcent, we know not, that their characters were marked by any conſiderable diverſities of manners. If ſome few of the moſt northern Caledonians were of Scandinavian origin; yet their manners either differed not diſcernibly from thoſe of the other ruder inhabitants of

* Cæſar: Tacit: Dio in Xiph, &c.

of the iſland: Or, if there had been a difference, it was loſt in the confuſion and coalition occaſioned among all the inhabitants of Caledonia, by the invaſion of the Romans, and the victories of Agricola. The facts mentioned by the Roman writers relate to all the Caledonians, without diſtinction. However fondly aſcribed to the Scots alone; the fragments of ancient Gaelic poetry, whether collected, or ſtill floating about, among the Gaelic peaſantry, belong moſt certainly in common, to all the ancient inhabitants of the north of Scotland: And the pictures of ſocial life which they exhibit, repreſent it, ſuch as it then exiſted through all Caledonia. Thoſe few remains of ancient arts which we dare venture to refer to this remote period of our hiſtory, are ſcattered equally through all the northern diviſion of North Britain. However different in their origin, yet all the people who had entered this country, before the Romans, and all who entered it, during the period of the Roman authority in the iſland, appear to have been too little elevated above the rudeneſs of ſavage nature, and too undiſtinguiſhably intermingled together, to have any thing in their knowledge, labours, or enjoyments that was not common to them all *. SECT. II.

BUT,

* Oſſian and Smith's Antiq. *paſſim*: Pennant's Tour: Stat. Account.

Sect. II.

Manners of the Caledonians changed by their intercourse with the Romans.

But, the *Romans* unavoidably taught the exercise of new arts and the use of new conveniencies to both their subjects and their enemies. The conquered Britons became slaves to their new masters, in their building, their husbandry, the management of their cattle, their mining, and all their arts. By rapine or by barter, the independent natives of the island acquired many things which had been brought hither by the Romans, or manufactured, or cultivated by them here; and thus gradually formed new notions of property, and learned new habits of industry, parsimony, and foresight. This enlarged knowledge of the nature of property; the new desires with which it was accompanied; the union and subordination which continual contention with the Romans necessarily produced; acting, all, with combined influences, slowly changed the face of society, throughout Caledonia. The Caledonians, while they viewed the Romans, their arts, and their modes of life, with contempt and detestation; were yet insensibly drawn to imitate them; but by an imitation so remote, that it was unperceived equally by the imitating and the imitated. Their cattle, their clothes, their armour, their household utensils, their grain, their fruits were what the Scots, the Picts, and the Midland Britons constantly sought in all their inroads upon the Romans and the Provincial Britons. When successful, they enjoyed their spoils somewhat

ſomewhat in the manner of thoſe from whom they had raviſhed them. When theſe ſpoils were thus exhauſted, and new expeditions proved leſs fortunate; attempts were naturally made to provide by induſtry, what could not be procured by rapine.—And, ſuch was the progreſs of arts and manners in North Britain, when the Anglo-Saxons came, to eſtabliſh the kingdom of Northumberland *. Ch. II.

II. The Anglo-Saxons, at the time when they left the northern coaſts of Germany, for Britain, had attained to better order in civil policy, and had learned to exerciſe a greater variety of arts, and thoſe with more ingenious ſkill, and more perſevering induſtry, than the Britons, Scots, or Picts. Anglo-Saxons.

The inhabitants of Germany having lived longer together, in the country which they inhabited; being leſs ſecluded from intercourſe with more opulent and civilized nations; and being more ſtraitened in their ſettlements, than the Caledonians; ſeem to have derived from the influence of theſe cauſes, almoſt all thoſe particulars, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from the latter people, in their habits and manners. And of the Anglo-Saxons, before their arrival in Britain, we know nothing, except what Their manners known, partly as German, partly as Britiſh.

* Hence the Roman coins, urns, &c. which have been found in places into which the Romans never penetrated.

Sect. II. what is related by the Greek and Roman writers, concerning the Germans, in general. Arrived in Britain, the Anglo-Saxons, with the acquiſition of new poſſeſſions, neceſſarily altered their modes of life, before forming any monuments or records to tranſmit their hiſtory to future times. Thus are we precluded from viewing or delineating them, ſuch as they were preciſely at the time of their arrival in this iſland. Let us, however, make the moſt of ſuch information as the indolence of barbariſm could endure to provide, and time has ſpared for us *.

Labours, in Germany. In Germany, the Anglo-Saxons had already learned leſs precarious means of providing their ſubſiſtence, than hunting or fiſhing. They had flocks and herds of domeſtic animals; cows and oxen, ſheep, horſes, and perhaps ſwine. They practiſed agriculture. They wove linen. They wore linen garments, not unlike our ſhirts; and ſometimes, over this garment, a robe, faſtened with a buckle on the ſhoulder, and in the faſhion of a Scottiſh plaid. Their houſes were nearly of the ſame ſtructure as thoſe of the ancient Caledonians and Britons. They had many more utenſils of metal. Their veſſels were of wood and unburnt earth. Wood was the fuel which they uſed. Their boats were long, formed of planks, and very lofty at each end. They had learned

* Beda.—Tacit.—Chron. Saxon.

learned to tan, however imperfectly, the hides of ſlain animals, to be made into ſhoes. They framed commodious waggons for the conveyance of their families and goods, from place to place. A ſmall wooden ſhield, a long ſpear pointed with braſs or perhaps iron, and at times a broad, two-edged ſword, or a bow, with a piece of rough ſkin, ſowed into a helmet, on the head, were all their offenſive and defenſive weapons. War, deliberation in the council, and the groſs luxury and noiſy merriment of the feaſt were the only modes of paſſing his time, which the Saxon thought not unworthy of himſelf. Meaner employments were left to the women and the ſlaves *. Sect. II.

In England, and in thoſe parts of Scotland in which the Anglo-Saxons eſtabliſhed themſelves, they found much to aid their advancement from barbariſm. The greater part of the iſland was full of the productions of Roman Art. The Britons, whom they ſubjugated, were qualified only for ſervile induſtry, and readily performed all menial offices for their maſters. However fields might be ravaged, flocks and herds ſlaughtered, farm-houſes, villages, and towns deſtroyed, amidſt the firſt fury of thoſe wars with the Britons, Scots, and Picts, by their ſucceſs in which, the Anglo-Saxons eſ-

 tabliſhed

* Tacitus, de moribus Germanorum.

SECT. II. tabliſhed themſelves in the iſland; yet were not the conveniencies of life wholly waſted, nor the ancient arts entirely obliterated. Their conqueſts would have been little gainful to theſe incomers, if they had deſtroyed all the wealth of the conquered countries, and forbidden the ſubjugated natives to practiſe any of their ancient modes of induſtry. The whole rural œconomy, therefore, the architecture, the clothing, the furniture, the food of the Anglo-Saxons and their Britiſh vaſſals were from this period, partly Anglo-Saxon, partly Roman-Britiſh. The ignorant and rude Anglo-Saxons ſoon learned to repeat that coinage which the Romans had firſt taught to the ancient Britiſh kings, and had afterwards practiſed themſelves, for the accommodation of their Britiſh ſubjects. They reſtored thoſe water-mills, which had been introduced by the Romans, and were obviouſly more advantageous in the uſe, than their own hand-mills. The ſame mead which was the favourite beverage of the Britons, was not leſs grateful to the Anglo-Saxons. The Saxons alſo learned, by degrees, to make their clothing warmer and more comfortable, by adopting the uſe of the woollen ſtuffs of the Britons, in addition to their own linens. Of their military architecture, hardly any monuments remain. The walls of their caſtles have been all levelled with the ground. But, the foundations of ſome of theſe have been lately traced; and have been

been found to conſiſt of a heap of ſtones of various ſizes, laid together with ſome regularity, and agglomerated by a cement poured through the maſs; this heap riſing to a conſiderable height, and extending to a large area, on the ſummit. The faſhion, the height, the ſtrength of the ſuperſtructure, we cannot now learn. But, to judge from every circumſtance that can afford any appoſite inference; the ſuperſtructure could be only ſome rude imitation of the ſtrong works of the Romans. The highways of the Romans had not been deſtroyed. And the Saxons could renew their bridges. * SECT. II.

YET, the Anglo-Saxons practiſed few of the arts, and were little acquainted with the more elegant and comfortable accommodations of life, at the time, when the Romiſh Clergy came to reſtore chriſtianity in this iſland. The firſt places of worſhip in which the miſſionaries preached to the Anglo-Saxons, were huts with mud-walls and ſtraw-covered roofs. Theſe gave place to larger and more elegant edifices of wood. And at length, when the converted Anglo-Saxons eagerly contended to purchaſe the conſolations and inſtructions of Religion, by laviſhing their wealth upon its miniſters, foreign artiſts and artizans were hired, and coſtly materials imported, to be employed in building and decorating ſtately cathedrals, and

N 2 monaſteries.

* Bedæ H. E. Chron. Sax. Strutt's Horda Angel-Cynnan.

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Sec. II. monaſteries. Orchards were, by the ſame clergy, carefully planted with fruit-trees; better ſpecies of grain, and more ſkilful modes of agriculture were introduced; and about the monaſteries, ſeveral mechanic arts began to be practiſed, which had been, hitherto, either unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, or elſe, very awkwardly and imperfectly exerciſed among them. At the feſtivals of the church, too, the people aſſembled at the cathedrals and other places of worſhip: Theſe feſtivals were oftener ſeaſons of feſtivity, than of mortification: Trade inſenſibly aſſociated itſelf with religion: Fairs and markets were inſtituted: Induſtry was thus conſiderably promoted, and the condition of life, by conſequence, improved. Foreign traffic was in the ſame manner begun. Rome and Italy demanded part of the wealth with which the ſimple Anglo-Saxons ſought to buy the benefits of religion; and this was neceſſarily exported either in the coins or in the commodities of the country. An importation was again begun by the Clergy, of ſuch articles as they wanted, for their own accommodation, or to conciliate the good-will of the people. Encouraging peace, too, rather than war, religion, in this way alſo, neceſſarily promoted all thoſe arts and that induſtry which can be uſefully exerciſed, only in a condition of tranquillity and ſecurity. The iſland was ſtill extenſively covered with

with foreſts; and the chaſe was yet the favourite amuſement of the Anglo-Saxon warriour; the wolf, the fox, the boar, the *auroçhs*, and the ſtag, were frequent in every wood, and on every mountain. Yet, ſuch was the progreſs of huſbandry, and the degree of eſtimation into which it roſe, that lands began to be *rented* by *freemen*, and the *ceorle* or free farmer was regarded with ſome ſhare of reſpect. Had not the invaſion of the Danes renewed the confuſion, the alarm, and the devaſtation of war, after the union of the kingdoms of the heptarchy; the Anglo-Saxons might probably have attained to no mean proficiency in all the uſeful arts. * Sect. II.

Of the monuments which yet remain, in however decayed a ſtate, to ſuggeſt to remembrance, the condition and the manners of the ancient inhabitants of our country, two remarkable claſſes are confeſſedly the works of Anglo-Saxon Labour; the round camps; and mounds ſtill known by the name of *motes*. The Anglo-Saxon camps have no near reſemblance to the Roman; but, it is not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh them from the Daniſh. Wherever they occur, theſe Anglo-Saxon camps are always round; the area of the camp is raiſed, by accummulated earth above the level of the circumjacent ground: ſometimes an eminence has been choſen for the ſite: a very wide ditch, Camps and motes.

* Autores ſupra citatos.

SEC. II. ditch, from which the earth, uſed in forming the camp, has been taken, ſurrounds its circumference: a rampart of earth was formed around the area of the camp, and immediately within the ditch: an external rampart, or *vallum*, again, paſſes round the outer extremity of the ditch, ſeparating the camp from the ſurrounding country. There are not a few of theſe camps through the ſouth of Scotland, and in all thoſe parts of the iſland in which the Anglo-Saxons had occaſion to make war.—The mounds were a ſort of open, unfortified camps, formed as places for the public meetings of the free men of a diſtrict. They are larger or ſmaller, according as they were deſtined for the accommodation of a more extenſive or a narrower diviſion of the country. Sometimes they are called *Laws;* where they have ſerved for the ſcenes of the aſſembling of thoſe Courts which were denominated LAHS. *

KNOWLEDGE of material nature.

IT is difficult to diſtinguiſh the labours of a people from their KNOWLEDGE. And from the ſtate of Induſtry, and the productions of the neceſſary arts among the Anglo-Saxons, ſeveral not unſatisfactory inferences might be deduced, concerning the degree of their intelligence. Their navigation, their agriculture, their mills, their inſtruments of metal, and their houſhold utenſils of baked earth, imply no inconſiderable

* Statiſt. Account, *paſſim.* Horda Angel-Cynnan.

Sec. II.

conſiderable acquaintance with the phœnomena of the firmament, the air, the ocean; with the relative gravities of the different elementary material bodies; with the laws of motion, in their various modifications; with the different qualities of ſoils; with the malleability of metals; with the adheſive and plaſtic nature of certain earths. The relations of vegetables to ſoil, air, temperature, and moiſture, were neceſſarily known to a people who depended on huſbandry for a great part of their ſubſiſtence. Shepherds and hunters, in their way of life, learned much concerning the nature and habits of thoſe animals which they fed or chaſed. In the manufacture even of the ſimpleſt cloth, what a conſiderable portion of knowledge and ingenuity is diſplayed! To the months of the year, the Anglo-Saxons gave names expreſſive of the varying courſe of appearances and employments, attendant on their revolution. Their calculations of the revolutions of the Sun, or the ſubdiviſions of the year cannot be ſuppoſed to have been very ſkilful, before they had learned ſomewhat of the aſtronomy of more enlightened nations. They reckoned, in their computations of time, not by days and years, but by nights and winters. Having begun to dye their yarn, in order to weave of it, ſtriped, chequered, and *tartaned* cloths; this naturally led them to an attention to the chemical qualities of colouring ſubſtances.

SEC. II.

ſtances. In ſearch of medical plants, the Anglo-Saxon clergy, after this people had been converted to Chriſtianity, ſtudied ſomething like botany. A botanical manuſcript is one of the oldeſt literary remains of the Anglo-Saxons. The practice of medicine was one great engine of the power of the clergy: But, of natural remedies they knew little, and appear to have concealed what they knew: Almoſt all the medicines which they adminiſtered, were ſuppoſed to operate by miraculous influence *.

Of general morality.

BARBARIANS, as they advance from ſavage to civilized life, appear to loſe, at firſt, as much in generoſity of *ſentiment*, as they gain in correctneſs of *moral principles*. The progreſs is, in its firſt ſteps, attended by naſcent diſtinctions of rank; which take their origin ſolely from inequalities of force, and of property acquired by violence. The firſt laws to which ſocial life is ſubjected, derive their authority from power in the hands of a few, not from general conſent. Barbarians, for the greater part, make their firſt acquiſitions of the more elegant conveniencies of life, by rapine, plundering their more refined and induſtrious neighbours; thus receiving the enjoyments of ſenſual luxury, without having paid the price of intelligence and labour. As ſociety is condenſed by the congregation of ſcattered

* Bedæ opera, *paſſim*.—*Leges Saxonum*.—Horda Angel-Cynnan, &c.

tered families and tribes, and conſtricted by the bonds of law and government; Man becomes of leſs value to man. Theſe are the circumſtances in which originate that ſelfiſhneſs of temper, that groſſneſs of paſſion, that coarſeneſs of feeling which are the moſt remarkable features of men in ſociety, where ſocial order has been but newly eſtabliſhed. Sec. II.

Moral ſentiments & practices of the Anglo-Saxons.

Such were, in this period, the moſt remarkable, moral features of the Anglo-Saxons. Force was underſtood to give every right to almoſt every poſſeſſion and enjoyment. Where force was wanting, fraud was often practiſed, in its darkeſt treachery. The authority of Law, where Law was known, was acknowledged with ſullen reluctance. If children were longer dependent upon their parents, here where there was a more complex education, to receive, and larger property to inherit; they were alſo more harſhly treated, and there was between them and their parents, leſs of reciprocal tenderneſs, among the Anglo-Saxons, than among the Caledonians. Conjugal fidelity, ſuperior to temptation, was rare. The love of liberty which was one of the ſtrongeſt of the paſſions of theſe people, was rather an abhorrence of induſtry and order, than an enlightened magnanimity which ſcorned ſervitude, as a degradation of the native dignity of man. Juſtice was, as yet, only the mea-

Sec. II. ſure of private retribution, not the guardian of public order. Valour was bloody in its triumphs, and cruel to the moſt ſhocking degree of inhumanity. Conviviality was riot, not tempered or garniſhed with ſocial converſe, or the generous flow of the ſoul. Even religion was the ſickly terrour of weakneſs and ignorance, not the lofty ambition of a mind impatient of any proſpect but that of new honours, increaſing felicity, growing power, even beyond the preſent ſtate of human exiſtence. The virtues which originate in unconſtrained benevolence, were loſt: Nor were thoſe duties regarded, upon which, it is the end of Law, to enforce the demands of Right. The mutual attachment of the members of families was not ſo much the kindneſs of affection, and of habitual intercourſe, as a league of rapine and of revenge. Hardly ever laying aſide his arms, the Anglo-Saxon was ready upon any ſudden impulſe of paſſion, to plunge his ſword into the heart of his enemy. As the laws of property, in their ſeveral modifications had begun to be recognized; ſo had avarice begun to abſtract by theft, what it was too timid to ſeize by robbery. Oaths were raſhly and careleſſy uttered, and as careleſsly violated. An acquaintance with the gifts of Induſtry had taught the Anglo-Saxons rather to urge, with the ſeverity of oppreſſion, the labour of the poor, the weak, and the dependent, than to apply themſelves

themſelves, unconſtrained, to peaceful labour, when they obtained any temporary remiſſion from the toils of war. The practice of almoſt every branch of induſtry was left to the women, the children, and the ſlaves. After juſtice had begun to be diſtributed by judges, acting under the authority of the king, it was not unfrequently perverted by the influence of bribery *. SEC. II.

YET, with theſe vices were many illuſtrious virtues blended. Of theſe the firſt and moſt honourable was, the confeſſion of a ſtandard of morality, different from the caprices, the appetites, the paſſions of individuals. The general recognition of a common rule of equity is the firſt ſtep of ſavages towards civility. Before this, whatever virtues may exiſt among them, exiſt in a precarious dependence upon condition, temper, and fancy. But, after ſuch a rule has been received, although often violated, it is often reſpectfully obeyed; and the violations are always attended with remorſe or cenſure. And, it muſt be confeſſed, that one reaſon, among others, why the morals of *barbarous*, often appear leſs praiſe-worthy than thoſe of *ſavage* life, is; That, the former are referred to a known and eſtabliſhed moral law; while the latter are conſidered in compariſon with the condition of a people



* Bedæ Opera *paſſim*:—Horda Angel-Cynnan:—G. Malms. &c.

Sec. II. deſtitute of fixed, moral principles. In the general obſervance of the virtues of juſtice, therefore, the Anglo-Saxons muſt have greatly excelled the Caledonians. After their converſion to Chriſtianity, their martial ſpirit was ſoftened; and from turbulent, they became peaceful, at length, to a contemptible degree of languor and timidity. If heathens at their firſt entrance into Britain, they however appear to have liſtened to the miſſionaries of true religion with an amiable ingenuouſneſs of nature. Chaſtity, however it might be, at times, violated, was eſteemed an ornament highly honourable in either ſex. The generoſity and kindneſs of a ſuperior were ſometimes rewarded by the moſt devoted attachment of his ſervants and dependents. And maſters, in many inſtances, treated their dependents with kindneſs which deſerved all their grateful ſervices. Between the ſenſe of duty, and the fear of puniſhment, theft and robbery were, by degrees greatly reſtrained. It is no unpleaſing proof of the correctneſs of the moral ſentiments of the Anglo-Saxons, that nearly the ſame aſſemblage of qualities which we now eſteem to conſtitute the moſt perfect of human characters, were then admired in the ſame view. Something more of ſuperſtitious piety might be required, and ſomewhat leſs of temperance might be inſiſted upon, than we ſhould think ſuitable to our perfect character. But, in this is almoſt

most all the difference. They had hardly yet begun to speculate about the principles or the foundations of morality. The possession of wealth and power, and the enjoyment of gross luxury were to them, as to the busy and unthinking part of mankind in all ages, the Chief Goods of Human life. The sanctions of the laws, the estimation of neighbours, and the will of superiors, accompanied with coercive power, were the only measures of duty, generally and respectfully acknowledged. The clergy, indeed, after Christianity was introduced among these people, taught them, that the perfection of virtue consisted in ascetic exercises of piety; the perfection of earthly happiness in monkish abstraction from the common concerns of life, superstitious devotion, and mystic contemplation. Little formal education appears to have been bestowed on the youth, till the Clergy officiously took the charge of this upon themselves *. Sec. II.

But, in their *Laws*, and in the *mode* of their *Government*, were the moral notions and sentiments of the Anglo-Saxons best expressed. For, even in Germany, their society had begun to assume a certain form, and to compact and proportion its constituent parts. They had, indeed, few things among them, which were at once so valuable and so rare as to deserve Laws, &c. Foundations of law and government.

* Beda, in H. E. vita Sti. Cuthberti, &c.—Wilkins Leg. Sax.—Chron. Sax.—G. Malms.—R. Hoveden.—Horda Angel-Cynnan, &c.

Sec. II. ſerve to be appropriated. Yet, having tried ſome of the ſimpleſt and moſt neceſſary of the arts; and having added to the practice of hunting, ſomething of indolent and unſkilful agriculture, and the care of at leaſt ſome few domeſticated animals; they had, by conſequence, formed ſome imperfect ideas of the nature of property, and had begun to feel ſome of the paſſions which it generates. The inſecurity alike of property and of life, unleſs where they are protected by civil union, neceſſarily alarmed the German anceſtors of the Anglo-Saxons with continual anxiety for their defence. And upon the diſtribution of *labour* and of *property*, and the care of *defence*, is all government founded *.

First meaſures of civil rights.

In its origin, it is *regulated* by the *natural inequalities* of the *power* of men. The wife, ſubject to the weakneſs and the confinement of child-bearing and nurſing, is thus reduced to ſubmiſſion to her huſband, and dependence upon him. Children, helpleſs and ignorant, are ſubject to their parents. The female ſex, in general, no ſooner riſing above the weakneſs of infancy, than they are again liable to the tenderneſs and the infirmities of geſtation; and forming, even in barbariſm, peculiar habits and manners, which tend to ſoften the natural weakneſs and delicacy of their character; are, hence obliged to

* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

to acknowledge the ſuperior authority of the male ſex. Age, unleſs the vigour, the activity, the ſubtility of the mind have been increaſed, as the bodily frame was waſted, is ſcorned, and neglected, till it perhaps aſks death as a kindneſs, or is perhaps ſuffered to languiſh to death for want of food. Superiority of wiſdom may command that force which knows not to guide itſelf; the vain fancies of fear, and the prejudices of ignorance may confer power, where it is not naturally poſſeſſed: But, with theſe exceptions, the firſt modifications of civil ſociety are univerſally regulated by natural inequalities of power *. Sec. II.

Thus founded upon the diviſion of labour and property, and the care of ſelf-defence; and regulated, in its origin, by the natural inequalities in the diſtribution of power among mankind; Government is, in its firſt forms, ſimple, awkward, and inefficient. Such was it among the ancient Germans. In each ſeparate community, more or fewer families were combined more or leſs cloſely. The women being, in theſe northern climates, naturally leſs inferior to the men, than in regions where there is leſs to be performed and endured before the neceſſaries of life can be obtained, were here, as among Government of the ancient Germans.

* Compare Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix.——Miller, Diſtinct. of Ranks.—Falconer on Climate.—Ferguſon, Eſſay on Civil Society.——Dunbar's Eſſays, &c.

Sec. II. mong the Caledonians, treated with a degree of kindneſs and reſpect, not common among barbarians. The young men, till they were accounted fit to bear arms, were ſubject to the abſolute authority of their fathers. When the members of a community took counſel in common, every man who bore arms, gave his voice. The old men who had gained wiſdom by experience, they whoſe valour commanded reſpect, and they who, however young, poſſeſſed a native energy and comprehenſion of mind ſuperior even to the wiſdom of experience, naturally directed the deciſions of ſuch an aſſembly. The combination of valour and experience was ſought in the choice of the leader of a military expedition. Even in the midſt of war, this leader was often ill obeyed. In peace there were often no acknowledged adminiſtrators of the public power. Families were left to enforce right, and revenge injury, each, for themſelves. In puniſhing direct crimes againſt the whole community, indeed, the whole community concurred. Where the tribe were yet hunters, there was no diviſion of the foreſt, no appropriation of its animals, but by ſlaying them. Even where they had become ſhepherds and herdſmen; it was only neceſſary for each to diſtinguiſh his own flock or herd, not to feed them on a ſeparate plain or mountain. But, after agriculture had begun to be practiſed by any community, a diviſion

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and diſtribution of the lands taken under cultivation, were ſoon found neceſſary. In ſome inſtances, indeed, the labours might be in common, and only the produce of the harveſt divided. But, in few inſtances does this œconomy appear to have prevailed: and even where it had been adopted; it was ſoon improved into the more equitable and convenient arrangement, by which each family cultivated an appropriated portion of land for their own benefit; only reſigning to the whole community, ſuch a ſhare of the produce, as its maintenance and defence required to be uſed in common. In this ſtage of ſocial life, while its dependencies were not yet fully eſtabliſhed, nor its ties knit cloſely together; men, having made no formal reſignation of any great number of their natural rights, guarded, each his own equality, and watched the encroachments and uſurpations of his neighbours with almoſt hoſtile jealouſy. And that none, in this beginning of the practice of private agriculture, might enjoy local advantages above his fellow-citizens, or might contract local attachments, to withdraw him from his public duties; the lands under culture were, among ſome tribes, reſumed, every year, by the community, and parcelled out, each portion to new proprietors. Where the poſſeſſion of land was thus Sec. II.

Sect. II. temporary, it could not be transferred by ſale, or bequeathed in inheritance *.

Progreſs & accidental variations of this Government.

This order of the progreſs of induſtry and of the diſtinctions of property was however, varied among diverſe tribes, by many different circumſtances. Artificial diſtinctions of rank inſenſibly aroſe. The improving art and ingenuity of man, the influence of local advantages or diſadvantages, with the efficiency of accidental events began to give to every ſeparate community, its peculiar form and preſſure, and to mark the character of each with peculiarities not obviouſly deducible from the natural relations and endowments of men. In war, there appeared among every tribe, ſomething like civil order and ſubordination. In peace, the bonds of union were again relaxed, and the ſtate of nature ſeemed to be reſtored.

Germans in Britain.

Coming into Briton, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were combined into parties, and guided by leaders. The expedition was adventurous and difficult. And in ſuch circumſtances, unleſs the condition be abſolutely deſperate, do men the moſt readily ſubmit to controul. By the very nature of the enterprize, therefore, they had probably more of order and policy among them, and were under better

* Cæſar de B. G. *paſſim*.—Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, &c.

better government, when they entered Britain, than at any previous period. Here they found enough of property, to diſtribute and to poſſeſs, and were, for a while, continually in arms, purſuing or maintaining their conqueſts. In theſe circumſtances, the ties of their union were multiplied and ſtrengthened; the diſtinctions of rank were increaſed; and laws, more various and complex than any that they had yet obeyed, were neceſſarily inſtituted, to regulate the *relations of the whole body, whether individually or conjunctly*, to the *means of enjoyment and defence* which their condition afforded: and at the ſame time, the *relations and duties of individuals* to one another, *of individuals to the community*, and *of the community to individuals*. SEC. II.

THE laws of the Anglo-Saxons were, however, not at firſt numerous, and were, for a while, rather cuſtoms than inſtitutions. The *relations* of thoſe people *to the means of enjoyment and defence* which their condition afforded, were ſimply defined. If greatly different from thoſe of their original ſtate in Germany; they differed not leſs from the ſame claſs of relations, as ſoon after changed by the progreſs and the fluctuations of their manners. The lands, with ſuch of the Britons upon them, as maſſacre and exile had left to the perhaps harder fate of ſlavery, were, by the common authority of all Laws relating to property.

Sec. II. the Saxon warriours, but under the influence of the leaders, ſhared out among all who were able to bear arms. The ſhares were unequal, in the proportion of the confeſſed inequalities of command, of ſervices rendered, and even, in ſome inſtances, of general perſonal character. Intrigue, partiality, artifice, and ſtout rapacity had, no doubt, their influence in promoting the inequalities of the diſtribution. The more moveable property, ſlaves, cattle, precious metals, clothes, armour, utenſils of all ſorts, were yet more unequally divided than the lands: Every one ſeems to have ſeized of ſuch things, whatever he could find, if he had power to appropriate and preſerve it: But, ignorant of letters as theſe conquerors, at this time, were, they thought not of forming, of granting, of requiring, or of receiving written deeds of tenure. Poſſeſſions were held ſimply *by virtue* of the ſwords by which they had been acquired. Yet, in the progreſs of the Anglo-Saxon arts and manners, this people ſoon became acquainted with letters. One of the firſt uſes in which theſe were employed, was, in the writing of deeds of gift and of bequeſt. Hence the origin of charters or written deeds of tenure. The lands which were held by this ſpecies of tenure, came to be diſtinguiſhed by the expreſſive name of *Bockland*. It was *Folcland* which was held ſimply by actual poſſeſſion. The inheritance of eſtates was,

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at firſt regulated partly by the will of the laſt poſ- Sec. II.
ſeſſor, and in part by the power of the heirs, to enforce their claim. At length, ſucceſſion was directed more nearly in the juſt order of age and of conſanguinity. But, by the law of *Gavelkind* lands were divided equally among all the male children of every family. A great landholder was a *Thane*: His tenants after the Anglo-Saxons had begun to multiply, in their new ſettlements, and freemen to condeſcend to huſbandry, were named *Ceorles*, their poſſeſſions, *Ceorletons*: His ſlaves were *Boors*, the lands intruſted to their management, *Boorlands* *.

THE *relations of individuals to one another*, marked by the names of Man, Woman; Huſband, Wife; Parent, Child; Maſter, Slave; Thane, Ceorl; Heretoge or Cyning, and Yeoman or Freeman; Buyer, Seller; Fellow-Citizen; &c. being, for the greater part, natural, were eaſily defined and underſtood. Only a few of the duties of theſe relations were expreſsly determined by law or cuſtom. Laws of perſonal relations.

THE laws founded upon the general relation between the two ſexes reſpected chiefly the preſervation of female chaſtity. Every injury offered to female modeſty and virtue, from the ſlighteſt indignity to the moſt criminal violation, was puniſhed Man and Woman.

either

* Wilkins, Leges Saxon.—Beda, *paſſim*, &c

Sec. II.

either by the exaction of a fine, or by the infliction of corporal chaſtiſement. Nor did female wantonneſs eſcape: An adultereſs, if not put to death, was, however, ſtripped of every poſſeſſion; and her perſon was ſo mutilated, as to leave her an object, no longer of ſeduction, but of horrour. Women were, however, in a continual ſtate of ſubjection and tutelage; from birth till marriage, to fathers, and in general to the neareſt male relation; who, in reſpect to the woman under his care and authority, was named *Mundbora*; to their huſbands, in the ſtate of wedlock; and in widowhood, to another relation choſen or appointed *Mundbora* to the widow *.

Huſband and Wife.

The mutual duties of huſband and wife were partly left to the influence of cuſtom, and the impulſe of affection; in part defined and enforced by law. The conſent of a woman's *Mundbora* was neceſſary to the legality of her marriage. It was purchaſed with a price, the amount of which was uſually in proportion to the rank of the parties. In a contract, the huſband engaged to maintain his wife in a ſuitable manner, and to treat her kindly; his friends becoming ſureties to her's, that he would perform his engagements. The marriage-ceremonies were adminiſtered by a prieſt. Preſents were beſtowed by their common relations and friends, upon

* Vide Autores ſupra Citatos.

upon the new-married pair. Beſide the dowry which the huſband had aſſigned to his wife in the contract of the marriage, he was expected to teſtify his fondneſs, by offering her ſome valuable preſent on the firſt morning after the conſummation. The wife was henceforth ſubject to her huſband, as ſhe had before been to her father or Mundbora. Thus contracted and conſummated, a marriage could be diſſolved only by the death, or in conſequence of the adultery of the huſband or the wife. But, in performance of a vow of chaſtity, either the one or the other might withdraw from the endearments of the marriage bed *. Sec. II.

Parents & Children.

The natural authority of parents over their children was confirmed by the laws of the Anglo-Saxons. To relieve the diſtreſſes of extreme poverty, a father might even ſell his ſons and daughters for ſlaves. Daughters were given in marriage by their fathers. It ſhould ſeem, that ſons became independent at that age at which they were thought to be qualified to act for themſelves, and to ſhape their own fortune in the world. The Anglo-Saxons appear to have interpreted with ſufficient fairneſs and intelligence, the natural rules of ſucceſſion to property; for the poſſeſſions of deceaſed parents were ſhared among their children; with inequalities, indeed, by which the ſhares of the ſons were larger than

* Eoſdem, cum Spelmanni Gloſſario.

Sec. II. than thoſe of the daughters; and the ſhare of each ſon or daughter, was commonly greater or ſmaller, in proportion as the claim of each could be more or leſs advantageouſly enforced *.

Slaves. The ſlaves of the Anglo-Saxons appear to have been Britons reduced to cultivate for others, thoſe lands which had been once their own; captives taken, from time to time, in war; children born in a ſtate of ſervitude; and perhaps others purchaſed from traders who carried on a traffic in human liberty. Freemen, unable to pay their debts otherwiſe, or guilty of crimes, were ſometimes alſo reduced to this miſerable condition. It was truly wretched; for, whether prædial or domeſtic, theſe ſlaves had hardly any protection againſt the ill uſage of their maſters; but what they found in theſe men's uncertain humanity; or in their cool regard to intereſt; which muſt have often yielded to caprice, and to the ſudden impetuoſity of paſſion. They were bought and ſold, like cattle. In the transference of eſtates, whether by ſale or otherwiſe, the boors or ſlaves upon an eſtate, were, of courſe, transferred with it. The laws inflicted no puniſhment on a maſter guilty of murthering his own ſlave. But he who murthered the ſlave of another might be compelled to pay his price. The Chriſtian clergy endeavoured, at length, with ſome ſucceſs,

* Eoſdem quos ſupra, videas.

ceſs, to alleviate the miſeries of the Anglo-Saxon ſlaves. And manumiſſion was not unfrequent *. Sec. II.

The original Anglo-Saxon conquerors of South-Britain appear to have been all *Thanes*. Immediately after the firſt diviſion of the conquered territories, *Thane* was only another name for *freeman*, *landholder*, and *ſoldier*. But, other Germans followed their countrymen into this iſland: In the increaſe of population, a freeman could not always bequeath an eſtate in land to every one of his children: Eſtates were ſold; and the firſt poſſeſſors left without property in land: Arts were multiplied and improved; and of courſe began to be cultivated by freemen: Slaves were emancipated; and the memory of their ſlavery gradually loſt. Thus aroſe a mingled order of Freemen, who being deſtitute of property in land, were not *Thanes*. The *Thanes*, thus exalted, ſoon watched every opportunity of enlarging their power and privileges †. Thanes.

Of the freemen without property in land, ſome became humble, but idle dependents upon the rich; ſome, ſoldiers of fortune; ſome, artizans; others, *Ceorles*. The management of the cattle, and the culture of the lands were now no longer left ſolely Ceorles.



* Bedæ H. E. &c.

† Tacit. de Mor. Germ:—Bedæ H. E.—G. Malms:—Leges Saxon, &c.

Sec. II. to *Boors*. Lands rented and occupied by ceorles ſoon afforded a larger income to the proprietors, than thoſe which were wrought by ſlaves. *Ceorles* were generally encouraged; and became the moſt reſpectable of the inferior freemen. Their privileges were increaſed, and various avenues were opened to them, through which they might aſpire to the honours of the thanedom *.

Heretoge, Cyning.

*Heretogè* ſeems to imply a ſupreme ruler, of power leſs abſolute and more liable to be reſumed from him, than that of the *Cyning* or King. The office was known only in the period of the firſt ſettlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. At leaſt, about that period only, did the name denote, in their policy, a ſovereign commander. The leaders of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune became Cynings, aſſoon as they and their followers had acquired independent eſtabliſhments in this iſland. The Cyning was perpetual General and Chief Judge of his nation. As the poſſeſſion of property in land gradually taught theſe people to acknowledge fixed laws of hereditary ſucceſſion, they learned to regulate the tranſmiſſion of the kingly power, nearly by the ſame laws which were obſerved in the caſe of private inheritances. As law and order became more ſtable; the power of the ſovereign was confirmed; and

* Eoſdem videas.

and the continual ſucceſſion of the eldeſt ſon of the king, to his father's throne became more certain*. Sec. II.

Buyer: Seller.

There had been a time when the relations of *Buyer* and *Seller* had no exiſtence among the inhabitants of Britain. Till the æra of their ſettlement in the iſland, the Anglo-Saxons had been more accuſtomed to ſeize by rapine, or at beſt to acquire by ſimple exchange, than to purchaſe what they wanted, for any general ſign of value. But, as they gained larger property, and as the branches of induſtry were more and more ſubdivided; barter was increaſed and improved into ſale and purchaſe: and the uſe of the precious metals was adopted, to promote and facilitate the traffic. Commerce aroſe. The freemen by whom it was exerciſed, were reſpected in the community. The laws enforced the fulfilment of fair contracts; regulated the denominations of money; protected the labourer and the merchant in the proſecution of their reſpective employments; and crowned with honours and privileges, the wealth which was earned by honeſt and ingenious induſtry†.

Fellow-Citizens.

The *relations* of *fellow-citizens*, are thoſe which hold all the members of every ſtate together. The others which have been enumerated, are but ſo many



* Bedæ in H. E:—G. Malms:—Chron. Saxon.

† Wilkins, Leges Saxon.

C. II.

ny modifications of theſe. In a rude age, the name of fellow-citizen is peculiarly endeared to the heart. The continual hoſtilities which divide barbarous nations, often render every ſtranger hateful; while community of danger makes every fellow-citizen dear as a brother. Union for defence; a preference, in conferring favours; and willingneſs of ſocial intercourſe: Theſe are perhaps the only reciprocal duties of thoſe who are related to one another merely as fellow-citizens. And, implied as the acknowledgment of theſe is, in every national act; it is not neceſſary that they be formally enjoined in laws. They were confeſſed in the whole tenor of the Anglo-Saxon policy.

Relations and duties of individuals to the community.

BUT, to mark *the relations of individuals to the Community;* and to define the duties of Citizens to the State, is, perhaps the firſt object of the policy of rude ages. Theſe *relations*, however modified, form, all together, what is called the CONSTITUTION. While the *duties* ariſing from them are faithfully diſcharged, that conſtitution, whatever it be, is maintained.

Slaves.

SLAVES are never members of any ſtate. With them, that ſtate which protects the rights of their maſters, is always at war. They owe it no duties. Fear and hope may conſtrain them to ſubmiſſion. But where the laws extend no protection to them, they

they can have no other principle of obedience, than constraint. By the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, we have seen, that slaves were indeed guarded to their masters, as property; but were no more protected than cattle, or any other tame animals. They were not members of the state *. Sec. II.

Different was the condition of the *Ceorle*, and of all those who, though not Thanes, were, however, Freemen, in respect to the public body. They were protected in their labours and enjoyments; and they owed their support to the community which gave them, this protection. By contributing such a share of their little property as might be requisite for the public expence; by giving their labour, when it was legally required in peace; and by being ready for military service, when war arose, did the Ceorles or Yeomen discharge all those duties to the state, which were not incompatible with their condition. In war, the ceorle or soldier of fortune, when unable to equip and support himself during the campaign, was obliged, at a time when there was a little or no public treasure, to attach himself commonly to some opulent thane, by whom he might be maintained; while he followed him, as his leader. This practice was slowly and insensibly introduced. And, out of it, even among the Anglo-Saxons, had the feudal system begun partly to Freemen.

* Bedæ. H. E.—Wilkins, Leges Saxon.

Sec. II. to ariſe. Inaſmuch as the benefits which the Ceorle derived from his connection with the ſtate, were leſs conſiderable than thoſe which accrued to the opulent thane; ſo were the duties which the former owed in return, leſs conſiderable, though not of leſs ſacred obligation, than thoſe of the latter *.

Thanes. The Thane, originally diſtinguiſhed by no peculiar privileges; for every freeman had, in the firſt ſettlement of theſe nations, become a Thane; had, at length, by the neceſſary progreſs of ſociety, ſeen many of his fellow-citizens ſink into a condition inferior to his own. The great burthens of the State lay chiefly upon him; for, as any one fell below the condition of Thane; he became at the ſame, leſs equal to the public ſervice. At all times, the thanes were members of the Great Council of the Nation. They only were originally obliged to march out, at their own expence, to war. To all conſiderable public offices, they were firſt eligible. And roads and bridges were always to be formed and repaired at their expence †.

King. As to the King; He was the adminiſtrator of the common power of the ſtate: The firſt in opulence: The higheſt in rank: The object of general reſpect: And univerſally obeyed; unleſs his commands might happen,

* Leges Saxon. &c. † Leges Saxon. &c.

happen, at any time, to contradict the declared public will *. Sec. II.

Such were the relations and duties of individuals among the Anglo-Saxons, to the Public; varied with the gradations of rank, and with diversity of circumstances; but connecting all the free citizens into one body, and maintaining that body in active vigour.

The *Community* compensated the services of individual citizens, of whatever rank, by protecting them against all foreign or domestic injury; by guarding that distribution of power, of property, of honours which had been established as the most equitable, and the most conducive to the general good; by encouraging useful industry; and by promoting innocent, social enjoyment. The laws were simply enunciations of the will of the Community; their sanctions, its promises or threatenings. Relations and duties of the community to individuals.

The instruments by which the Community enforced its will among the Anglo-Saxons, were chiefly the Wittenagemote; and under its authority, the Cyning. There were also subordinate, legislative courts, constituted to enforce the execution of

* Chron. Sax.—Leges Saxon. &c.

Sec. II. of the laws, and inveſted, beſides, with power to enact bye-laws *.

Petty courts.

Of theſe petty courts, the loweſt was the court of the *Tything* or *Freeburgh*; conſiſting of ten families; and having for its preſident, a *borſholder*, choſen, it ſhould ſeem, from among the members, by the majority of their voices. Ten of theſe tythings compoſed a *hundred;* the preſident of which was named the *hundredary*. A *Trithing* or *Lah* conſiſted of three or more hundreds; and its chief magiſtrate, and the preſident in its general courts, was the *Trithing-man*, or *Lab-grieve*. The ſhire was the greateſt of theſe ſubordinate diviſions of the kingdom. In its courts, the *Alderman*, an officer appointed by the king, or elſe his *Rieve*, preſided. Theſe courts, and diviſions of the citizens appear to have been originally imitated from the arrangements of the Anglo-Saxon armies. The object of their inſtitution, was, at once, to maintain domeſtic peace and order, and to hold the military force of the nation, at all times, as ready as poſſible, to oppoſe an enemy. All the members of all theſe courts were, at firſt landholders. But, as, in the progreſs of ſociety, an inferior order of freemen aroſe; theſe ſtill aſſiſted in the inferior courts; although it does not appear, that the attendance of any, beſide the landholders, was required, in the quality of members,

* Leges & Hiſt. Saxon.

members, in the court of the ſhire. Of municipalities, like the preſent burghs of Britain, independent of the ſhires within which they ſtood, there were none among the Anglo-Saxons. Moveable property was not yet large enough to acquire privileges ſo conſiderable for thoſe who were without property in land. Nor had the Anglo-Saxons yet conceived ideas of a mode of government ſo diſjointedly complex*. Sect. II.

Witte-nagemote.

The *Wittenagemote* was the great council of the nation. In its original compoſition, all who bore arms, and with theſe the miniſters of religion, took a part in its deliberations and deciſions. Upon the eſtabliſhment of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, all the thanes, and they only, compoſed this council; but all the freemen, who bore arms were then thanes.—As the diſtinctions of ranks were confirmed; and an inferior order of freemen began to ariſe; the Wittenagemote ceaſed to be a full aſſembly of the whole nation. Freemen deſtitute of property in land, were excluded, as if they had been in a ſtate of perpetual minority, from all ſhare in the government of the ſtate. The landholders or thanes alone ſtill compoſed the great council. By the neceſſary progreſs of ſociety, the democratical government of the Anglo-Saxons thus inſenſibly became ariſtocratical.



* Leges Saxon.—Beda *paſſim*.—Scriptores Hiſtoriarum Saxon.

Sect. II. ariſtocratical. The change, however, was effected, not through any intended uſurpation of the thanes; nor by any voluntary derelection of right in the yeomen; but through the unſkilfulneſs of the ancient Anglo-Saxons in policy and legiſlation; by their inattention to the riſe of an inferior order of freemen, till it had become numerous and conſiderable; and by their reverence for the forms of a conſtitution which they had once eſtabliſhed. To reſtore the declining equality of honours, rights, and duties among freemen, thoſe laws were, at length enacted, which opened to the ceorles and other yeomen, acceſs to all the honours of the thanedom. With the title and the honours of *Thane*, the ennobled yeoman acquired, at the ſame time, all the privileges, and was obliged to all the duties of his new character. But, barbarians, unſkilled in the mechaniſm of governments, and the principles of legiſlature, know not to provide for the exigencies of increaſing population and improving manners. The plan of *Repreſentation* in the Wittenagemote was too refined and complex to occur to a rude people. They employed a ſcheme for the reſtoration of equality, which, in its very nature, tended to confirm that inequality againſt which it was directed. Rudeneſs, and ſimplicity, rather than uſurpation or ſervility ſtrengthened the ariſtocracy of the Anglo-Saxons.—In the fluctu-

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tions of the Anglo-Saxon governments and manners; amid the ſubjugation, or union of independent ſtates; the delegation of extraordinary powers to kings and nobles in extraordinary exigencies; the reluctant ceſſion of territory to foreign adventurers; the enormous accumulation of property in few hands; the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of the ambitious enterprizes of the great; and a confuſion of other events which, to its termination, attended the progreſs of the Anglo-Saxon power in Britain: —Amid theſe events, the Ariſtocracy was greatly aggrandized; the irregularities of rank were increaſed; and innovations were made on the conſtitution of the Wittenagemote. The rulers of the church holding lands in liferent and in truſt, had, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, been admitted into this great council. The great officers of the king and the ſtate, being, either thanes before their appointment to their offices, or being at leaſt ennobled by the appointment, were, equally, members of the Wittenagemote. And, the landholders, as they became more numerous, becoming individually leſs wealthy; while the great offices of the government came to be ſometimes hereditary in families: The thanes now ſank, like the ceorles formerly, into a meaner order of nobility; the title of thane was leſs ambitiouſly claimed; it was conferred without the privileges which had been SECT. II.

Sect. II. once considered as inseparably annexed to it; and the Aldermen and the Prelates became the most eminent members of the great Council of the Nation. *Wittes* or *Wights* is the name by which the landholders are rather distinguished whenever they are mentioned as members of the Wittenagemote, in the latter period of the Anglo-Saxon history. When the lands were at length, extremely subdivided; and the modes of tenure capriciously varied; it should seem, that, the petty proprietors of land were neither thanes nor members of the national council *.

Officers under the king, &c. In every period of the Anglo-Saxon history, the Wittenagemote was the great organ of the public will. In it the community dictated its commands to individuals, and expressed its care of the general welfare. Every member had a right to offer his advice in the deliberation, and to give his voice in the decision. The king was originally but the first member of this assembly. He was also its first servant; and its representative for the management of the national concerns, whenever it was not assembled. But, as the Wittenagemote devolved upon the king so large a share of *their* authority; he was also obliged to intrust a great part of *his* to subordinate officers. His aldermen held the chief power

* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.—Wilkins, Leges Saxon.—Bedæ H. E. &c. *passim*.—G. Malms.—R. Hoveden, &c. &c.

er civil and military, in their ſeveral ſhires. The Wittenagemote acted with national authority; the king, under the authority of the Wittenagemote: almoſt all ſubordinate officers, under the immediate authority of the king. The king became, in the progreſs of the Anglo-Saxon affairs, ſomewhat more independent of the National Council: And the great officers became leſs ſubmiſſive to the authority of their ſovereign. SECT. II.

SUCH are the outlines of the civil policy of the Anglo-Saxons. But, it was not enough, to define the mutual relations, and to enjoin the mutual duties of the various members of the community, by laws, and in cuſtoms tacitly acknowledged as laws. Nor could thoſe officers who were employed as the guardians of the laws, and inſtruments of the public power, ſerve the community uſefully, without being guided by forms, and armed with ſanctions. Where the laws were not voluntarily uſed by each individual, as the ſacred rule of his conduct; the diſobedience was to be forcibly checked. If one great part of the buſineſs of the executive ſervants of the ſtate were to defend it againſt foreign injury with the force intruſted to them; the other branch of their duty, not leſs conſiderable, was, to protect it from the internal hoſtilities of its own members *.

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* Leges Saxon, &c.

Sect. II. Forms of trial.

Hence forms of trial and modes of punishment, the necessary appendages of law and civil establishments. In trials to discover the guilt or innocence of persons accused of crimes; the confession or denial of the person accused, was heard; the decision of heaven was sought, in the numerous forms of the ordeal; and crowds of witnesses, if such could be adduced, were required to swear, either that they knew, or at least that they believed him to be innocent. Either by the ordeal giving those indications which were understood to be favourable, or by the concurring testimony of a multitude of witnesses, might a person brought to trial as a criminal, be acquitted. The practice of appeal to the ordeal had its origin in the superstition of a people whose simple ignorance ascribed almost every event which was not produced by themselves, to the *immediate* operation of supernatural existences; and who fancied their deities ever ready to intermeddle, at their request, even in their most common and trivial concerns. The demand of the testimony of so many witnesses seems to have been suggested by the practice of private revenge, before law was acknowledged: They who, in the times of lawless turbulence, would have been obliged to draw their swords, and expose their lives for the person accused, or else yield him up to the revenge of his accusers; were, in this more orderly state of society, only called to express

expreſs their perſuaſion of his innocence, or at leaſt, their willingneſs to defend him. In the ſubſequent improvements of juriſprudence, the compurgators have been divided into two claſſes; one ranked with the judges; the other examined as witneſſes, and giving the only evidence upon which the perſon accuſed, is acquitted and condemned. Britiſh juries have all the characteriſtics of thoſe compurgators who after hearing the accuſed perſon, with his own mouth vindicate his innocence, ſwore, that they believed him to have declared the truth *. SECT. II.

Modes of puniſhment.

A PEOPLE, as yet little accuſtomed to any reſtraint upon their natural rights, and who had never known the miſeries of deſpotiſm, could not intruſt the miniſters of public juſtice with the power of puniſhing even guilt with cruel ſeverity. The rights of private revenge were not yet fully reſigned into the hands of the State; and hardly any ſeverity of public puniſhment would have ſo gratified the proſecutor, as to make him willingly withhold his own hand. Fines, therefore, modified in proportion to the levity or enormity of the crime, and the quality of the perſon injured, were the puniſhments exacted, in almoſt every inſtance, by the Anglo-Saxon laws. Theſe ſeem to have been, in their original intention, rather commutations for the right of private revenge, than public puniſhments. After

* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.—Leges Saxon.

Sect. II. ter having been, for a while, paid by the perſon convicted, to him who had ſuffered by his crime, theſe fines came to be, at laſt greedily ſeized by the avarice of the judges *.

Religion. The ancient *religion* of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles was that of a rude, fierce, and ignorant people; to whom no religious ſyſtem, complex and refined above the general condition of their arts and manners, had yet been communicated. It ſeems to have ariſen either out of their circumſtances and feelings ſolely, or elſe perhaps, from ſome few principles of foreign derivation, but modified, enlarged, and combined by the hopes, fears, and fancies natural to their ſituation and character. Their deities were diſtinguiſhed by the loftieſt perfection of thoſe qualities which they admired in their wiſeſt elders and braveſt warriours. The power with which their fancies inveſted them, was a combination of human ſtrength invigorated to the utmoſt conceivable force; with that violence which appeared to aid the rage of the elements; and that myſterious power which was ſuppoſed to direct the more incomprehenſible phænomena of nature. Their paſſions were fierce, and their deeds deſperate, above thoſe of men, in proportion to the ſuperiority of their ſtrength and intelligence. Even the female deities, although glorious in all the beauty of their

* Wilkinſi Leges.—Hickes, &c.

their ſex, wanted that delicacy and that gentleneſs which are, in our eyes, more charming than beauty. The paradiſe in which theſe gods and goddeſſes were placed, afforded enjoyments congenial to their nature; among the chief of which were the rage of the battle, and the riot of the feaſt. Other ſupernatural beings, hoſtile to theſe gods, but of inferior power, were confined by them to a place in which every horrour met, that a Saxon imagination could conceive. Prayers rather haughty than abject, and ſacrifices of which none was more acceptable than the blood of an enemy, had power to avert the wrath and propitiate the favour of the Saxon deities. The mortal was dear to them, who aſpired to breathe their ſpirit, and to imitate their deeds. The Saxon warriour was not, for ever, loſt to life and to enjoyment, when he fell on the field of battle. He who had fallen bravely, then entered the lofty halls of the gods, joined their amuſements, ſhared their feaſts, and was clothed in their immortality. Miſery and diſgrace purſued the cowardly and torpid, even beyond the grave. That religion which numbered females among its divinities, could not deny to thoſe women who, in life, were reſpected as the men, admiſſion into its paradiſe. The will of the gods and the proſpects of futurity were made known in dreams and viſions, and were to be diſcovered by various practices of divination. Of SECT. II.

Sec. II. the prieſts of this religion, we know ſtill leſs than of the Druids. They were probably not very diſſimilar to the latter, in their character, and in the nature of their authority *.

Chriſtianity. CHRISTIANITY breathed a milder ſpirit, than the ancient ſuperſtition of the Saxons. It was the production of an age in which the manners of mankind had been refined, and their moral principles purified to very high perfection. Upon its original fabric, various opinions and obſervances had been ſuperinduced which tended powerfully to enforce its humanizing influence upon barbarous minds. It contributed greatly to compoſe the feuds, and to improve the policy of the Anglo-Saxons. In the order and ſubordination of the Chriſtian hierarchy, they ſaw a policy more regular and more uſefully efficient, than any that they had yet known. They here learned, that benevolence, humility and forgiveneſs of injuries were more honourable than haughty ferocity, and relentleſs revenge. The prayers, the faſtings, the ſelf-abaſement which this religion enjoined, were very different from the rites and exerciſes employed to propitiate Thor and Woden. Abſtraction from the world, and the mortification of thoſe paſſions which are inflamed and ſtrengthened amidſt the buſtle of life, were duties unfavourable to the ſpirit

* Tacit.—Beda.—Edda Ihre, &c.

ſpirit of war and rapine. The Anglo-Saxons had not been very long converted to Chriſtianity, when they became the moſt abject ſlaves of monkiſh ſuperſtition. Nobles and peaſants retired in crowds, to the convents, till there hardly remained Laymen, to maintain domeſtic tranquillity, or to oppoſe foreign invaſion. The heroiſm of thoſe who had been the braveſt warriours of the north, degenerated, under the influence of monachiſm, into torpid lethargy and womaniſh timidity *. Sec. II.

Literature.

At their deſcent upon Britain, theſe people were even ſtrangers to the uſe of *Letters*. With their ancient prieſthood, however, as with the Druidical hierarchy, an order of men had been connected, whoſe buſineſs it was, to compoſe, to commit to memory, and to recite the praiſes of heroes. The heroes, themſelves, were often emulous of excellence in this nobleſt of arts. From the earlieſt times, the Saxons appear to have had their minſtrels, as the Britons, their bards. Soon after their arrival in Britain, theſe conquerors adopted the uſe of the Roman-Britiſh alphabet; and their language, however rude, ceaſed to be merely vocal. But, till the Romiſh clergy came among them, they made no advancement in the literary arts. Theſe brought many books from Italy; undertook to inſtruct the youth



* Bedæ H. E. *paſſim*.

Sect. II. in letters; and diffuſed a taſte for legendary lore, which diſcredited the tales of the minſtrels. In the ſeventh and the eighth centuries, the inhabitants of the Anglo-Saxon monaſteries, beſide ſome knowledge of Latin, as the language of the ſervices of the church, and of the theology which was then faſhionable among the Chriſtians of the Weſt, were well verſed in many a legend of the miracles and ſufferings of ſaints, martyrs, and confeſſors, and knew ſome of them, ſomething of what by them was called ſcience. One of the moſt beautiful manuſcripts of the goſpels, now remaining, was written, at the deſire of St Cuthbert of Lindisfarn, by a monk of Northumberland. On ſome of the manuſcripts of thoſe times, are rude paintings, illuſtrative of the contemporary arts and manners. Bede is the glory of the Northumbrian clergy. His whole life was dedicated to devotion and letters. His works, although the ſtyle be rude, and although proofs abound, of his credulity, which muſt move the reader's pity to mingle with his veneration, are, however, a noble and pleaſing monument of the hiſtory and literature of the age in which they were compoſed. The cathedrals erected by the pious cares of the Anglo-Saxon clergy, were ornamented in a taſte which ſeems to have regarded glaring ſplendour and difficulty of execution as forming, in their combination, the perfection of beauty in the arts. The ſervice in the

the cathedrals required a ſacred *muſic*; and the wild airs of the minſtrels were ſtill the delight of the noble, and of the peaſant. The minſtrels, no longer ſupported by a prieſthood whoſe diſciples and lay-brethren they originally were, ſank, by degrees into jeſters and wandering ballad-ſingers. At a late period, in the Anglo-Saxon hiſtory, king Alfred found the Engliſh clergy to have become ſo generally illiterate, that many of them could hardly read or write. The nobles and the laymen were accuſtomed to ſign written deeds, by ſcrawling the mark of the croſs *. Sec. II.

In this ſtate of their Labours, and their Knowledge; the Enjoyments of the Anglo-Saxons could not be very refined. If ſuperiority of reaſon can confer ſuperior happineſs; the Anglo-Saxon was certainly a more rational animal, than the ſavage Caledonian. His temper was more provident. He had learned better to reſiſt the urgency of preſent motives, and to act upon diſtant proſpects. He was by conſequence leſs liable to thoſe diſtreſſes, to which the ſavage is expoſed by his inability to ſacrifice preſent appetite to future convenience. Whatever enjoyments may be connected with the gratification and the cheriſhing of the paſſion of avarice; theſe began to be known to the Anglo-Saxons. But, the impaſſioned tenderneſs of love and friendſhip, Enjoyments.

* Aſtle's Hiſt. of Writing, p. 96.—Horda Angel-Cynnan, &c.

SEC. II. friendſhip, the warmth of hoſpitality, the enthuſiaſm of fame are often leſs ſenſibly felt by the barbarian than by the ſavage; and it does not ſeem probable, that the Anglo-Saxons owed any very great ſhare of their happineſs to theſe ſenſibilities. Their enjoyments were uniformly of a more ſober character, than thoſe of the ancient Caledonians. If they knew not the high tranſports of ſocial felicity; they however enjoyed the conſtant aid, protection, and conſolations of ſociety. Their feſtivities had, in them, ſomething of order and decency. They had learned to try, at times, the ſatisfactions of moderate exertion, remote, alike from the torpid lethargy, and from the deſperate and momentary impetuoſity of the ſavage. One great advantage of that ſtate of life in which we view the Anglo-Saxons, is, that it renders human exiſtence leſs precarious, than in a ruder condition. The tenderneſs of infancy and the infirmities of age are not here abandoned, as among ſavages, without pity and without aid. Nor is diſeaſe left to languiſh to death, without conſolation or relief. If the high pride of independence be no longer enjoyed, neither are the anguiſh and diſtreſs of hopeleſs ſolitude endured. The quantity of the enjoyments of the barbarian is greater; but the ſavage, it muſt be owned, ſnatches thoſe which fall to his ſhare, with a higher guſt. Among the Caledonians, life had no joys, unleſs for the he-

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ro or the heroine; but timidity and peaceful induſtry were protected and cheriſhed by the circumſtances of the Anglo-Saxons. To the Anglo-Saxon, life was much more endeared, than to the Caledonian. The former enjoyed a ſecurity which had accuſtomed him to account his life, his own; while the latter was hardly ever above a few hours, ſecure from periſhing by hunger, or by the ſpear of a foe. Foſtered and inſtructed by the cares of education; protected and reſtrained by law; accommodated by the labours of art; cheared by frequency of ſocial intercourſe; and taught to practiſe ſome degree of habitual temperance and habitual induſtry: The Anglo-Saxon found in theſe circumſtances of his condition, the chief ſources of his happineſs. And the ſentiments which chriſtianity inſpired, with the hopes which it encouraged, would undoubtedly tend to diffuſe a new ſerenity over his mind, and to ſoothe him in death, when the ferocity of his ſpirit might otherwiſe have ſunk into deſpondency. SECT. II.

Perſonal aſpect and character.

In his perſonal aſpect, the Anglo-Saxon was commonly fair, tall, and well-proportioned. Growing up amidſt the labours of agriculture and the toils of war, and being plentifully ſupplied with food, he was naturally robuſt. Being neither pampered nor cheriſhed to effeminacy, nor yet waſted to weakneſs by

Sec. II. by continual toil, expoſure, and want, his life was long and healthy. His temper was rough and ſullen. He delighted too much in riot and bloodſhed. His induſtry was yet awkward, indolent, and reluctant. He was readier to ſatisfy the calls of religion by penitence, than by habitual ſelf-denial or obedience. Nor were his groſs appetites and unſocial paſſions ſeldom refractory, where oppoſed by the reſtraints of the laws. But, he was open, manly, and a ſtranger to hypocritical diſguiſe. And, if he might have leſs of the honeſt zeal of friendſhip, than the ſimpler ſavage; he was yet more ſuſceptible of it, than the baſe, flattering, hollow-hearted aſſociates of a more poliſhed age!

Anglo-Saxons belong to the Scottiſh hiſtory.

SUCH, in all the more important circumſtances of their condition, and, in the more prominent features of their character, were the ancient Anglo-Saxons. As they occupied almoſt all the ſouthern diviſion of Scotland, at a time when all its other inhabitants were more barbarous and uncivilized than they; hence is their hiſtory neceſſarily involved, in part, in the ancient hiſtory of Scotland; and in as much as the dawn of civility is more intereſting to the mental eye, than the night of ſavage barbariſm; in the ſame degree muſt the record of the policy and manners of theſe Anglo-Saxons prove more entertaining and inſtructive than the ſame branch

branch of the hiſtory of the ancient Caledonians and Britons. With as good reaſon might the Anglo-Saxons be overlooked in the hiſtory of England, as in that of Scotland. They were perhaps the moſt conſiderable ſtock of our anceſtors. Their language, their laws, their arts, their manners have not been loſt, but are retained among us, perhaps in more genuine purity, than any where elſe. All the fluctuations of manners and policy which Scotland has ſince known, have not effaced, however they may have altered and improved thoſe inſtitutions and that civility which were firſt introduced by the Anglo-Saxons. Sec. II.

III. The Danes; who, in the ninth and tenth centuries, ſeized the provinces of Moray, and Caithneſs, the iſles of Orkney, and Shetland, the coaſts of Argyleſhire, with the Hebudæ and Man; were the third of the nations that eſtabliſhed themſelves ſo permanently in ancient Scotland, as to be juſtly eſteemed anceſtors of the preſent Scots. Originally ſituate in that neighbourhood which had been forſaken, four hundred years before, by the Anglo-Saxons; their manners and character differed not very widely from thoſe of the laſt German invaders of Britain. They had been, like theſe, hunters and fiſhers, till allured by the wealth and arts of their more ſouthern neighbours, to purſue a Labours, Knowledge and Enjoyments of the Danes.

Sec. II. richer prey. From the time nearly of the emigration of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, out of Germany into Britain, the Danes and Norwegians accuſtomed themſelves to piracy. Without arts or induſtry among themſelves, they thus acquired many of thoſe accommodations which art provides. The metals, the ſtuffs, the rich furniture, the curiouſly wrought armour of the Romans and of the conquerors of the Roman Empire, were the frequent prizes of the piratical expeditions of the Danes. To ſcoop out canoes, or weave wicker-boats and *ſheathe* them with hides; to faſhion and decorate their arms; to rear ſome rude and awkward ſtructures for their houſes; To fiſh, when extreme neceſſity urged, and to purſue the toils of the chaſe, when circumſtances rather invited to theſe:—Such were the ordinary, domeſtic labours of the ancient Norwegians and their maritime neighbours. They had not yet divided the lands. Thoſe diſtinctions in rank, and that order in government which are in part produced, and are chiefly ſupported by the relative diſtribution, and the poſſeſſion of unperiſhing property, were not firmly eſtabliſhed among theſe nations. He who had courage to lead in a piratical enterprize, if he was at the ſame time, maſter of one or two boats, perſuaded others who wanted means of fitting out themſelves, to join his fortunes. The company thus compoſed, ſailed under the

the proprietor of the boat's command. Courage and fortitude enabled them to ſurmount thoſe difficulties, and to endure thoſe hardſhips, to which they were expoſed by their want of nautical ſkill and nautical accommodations. The ſtars guided their courſe on the deep. Reaching thoſe coaſts of which the wealth was the hope of their expedition; they landed with as much ſecrecy as poſſible; ſurpriſed the inhabitants in the ſilence of night, or amidſt the labours, the feſtivities, and the ſacred ſolemnities of peace; ſlew the men of war, thoſe who were worn out with years, and thoſe who were yet in the firſt helpleſſneſs of infancy: dragged into captivity, the young men who were fit for ſervitude, and the virgin or widow whoſe charms might ſeem cheaply purchaſed by the conqueſt of every difficulty and the endurance of every hardſhip which the warriour could encounter; and with theſe, cattle, grain, armour, clothes, furniture, the inſtruments of labour, and the utenſils of domeſtic accommodation, till they had fully ſtowed their veſſels. Whatever they could not bear with them, they burnt, waſted, or defaced. Then returning home, in joy and triumph, they gave their time to riotous enjoyment; till the ſpoils of the laſt expedition were conſumed; and hardſhips and dangers were again deſired, to renew the reliſh for eaſe and pleaſure, now languid by ſatiety. Perhaps the lead- SEC. II.

Sec. II.

er of the laſt adventure was now poor by profuſion or misfortune. Another had more frugally preſerved his ſhare of the booty;—or had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a heroiſm in which warriours of ordinary abilities and fortune, were more willing to confide. Power and command thus flitted from one to another. The rovers again plowed the main. But, they were perhaps leſs fortunate than before. Warned of their approach, the inhabitants of the threatened coaſt had prepared to receive them. The ſpoil they ſought was to be purchaſed with their blood. Perhaps the invaders were repulſed with loſs and infamy. Other ſhores were then to be alarmed, and other lands ravaged; till the band could either lade their ſhips with plunder, or were diminiſhed and enfeebled below the hope of ſucceſs, or even wholly cut off. If driven home without a prize; want compelled them to ſeek ſubſiſtence by hunting or fiſhing, till they could join ſome other band of adventurers, in another prædatory expedition. In this courſe of life, theſe rovers gradually combined into civil bodies. Before they came to ſeek ſettlements in Britain and on the coaſts of France, their government had aſſumed a more regular and permanent form, than that under which the Anglo-Saxons had firſt entered England. Their manners and habits of life had neceſſarily given it more of a pure, monarchical character. The tranſient

ſient dignity of *Murmor* in the Scottiſh hiſtory, and that of *Jarl*, introduced from England, and more permanently eſtabliſhed, are both of Daniſh origin*. Sec. II.

Religion of the Danes.

THE *religion* of the Pagan Danes were originally the ſame as that which had prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons, before their converſion to Chriſtianity. In the progreſs of Daniſh manners, however, it had been wrought into a more complex ſyſtem, and had been enlarged with new appendages. Once the ſuperſtition of hunters and robbers by land, it had been ſince moulded into a ſcheme of worſhip and awful belief, more ſuitable to the notions of ſailors and pirates. Odin was, in their mythology, the great ruler of gods and men. Under his authority, and diſtinguiſhed, each by peculiar powers and qualities, were a train of meaner gods, the humble companions of Odin. One of the moſt eminent among theſe was Niord, the god of the winds and the ocean. Beſide the gods, there was alſo a company of goddeſſes; of whom Frigga was the chief, illuſtrious far above the reſt, by her power and beauty. Theſe, too, like the gods, had, each her peculiar qualities and offices. Deſtiny was perſonified, and multiplied into a company of virgin goddeſſes. There was alſo a deity of miſchief, Lok; whoſe malignity was aided by female divinities, miſchievous as himſelf, by the rapacity of a wolf, and by

* Mallet's N. A.—Johnſtone's A. C. S.

Sec. II. by the venom of a ſerpent. A time was to come, when the beneficent deities, with all the monuments of their power, and the objects of their enjoyment, ſhould periſh in a fatal conteſt with thoſe principles of evil. Yet Balder, with ſome others, eſcaping, ſhould once again reſtore order, beauty, and animated exiſtence over the frame of nature. The preſent ſyſtem of things had not been indeed, at firſt, created out of nothing; but it had received its form, and had been reduced under its preſent laws, by the operation of Odin. In the adminiſtration of the affairs of the univerſe, all the deities buſily interfered. Songs celebrating their honours; prayers ſupplicating their aid; ſacrifices grateful to their appetites; and incantations, the engines of thoſe myſterious laws to which they were ſubject, propitiated or irreſiſtibly commanded to mortals, the favour and the aſſiſtance of the Gods. By incantations eſpecially, and theſe performed by women, was the fury of Niord bound up, and his benign influence obtained to the mariner. But, it was in the rage of battle, that the Scandinavian performed the ſervice the moſt acceptable to his Divinities. The virgin Deſtinies then ſelected thoſe heroes who were to paſs, by a gallant death, to the glory and the felicity of the Gods. There was alſo a place of puniſhment for ſuch as were diſhonoured by thoſe actions and qualities which the Scandinavians deemed ignoble and baſe.

The

Sec. II.

The deſperate valour of the ancient Scandinavians may have been aſcribed ſimply to that ardent hope of immortality which their religion inſpired; but, it was the hope of an immortality crowned with enjoyments grateful to their mortal ſenſes, and in all their modifications, fully conceivable by the yet human imagination, which made the Daniſh hero prodigal of life: immaterial immortality, and an airy happineſs, in the enjoyment of which the ſenſes were not to be concerned, could have afforded him no proſpect, over which he might have ſmiled in death. Like the ancient Britons, the Danes worſhipped their Deities, and performed various rites of their religion, within rude circles of ſtones, and in temples, when they had acquired ſkill enough in maſonry to build temples. In theſe, they exalted on thrones, rude images of their principal divinities: the blood of the victims was ſhed before them; and other ſolemnities were equally celebrated under the ſacred roof. At the winter ſolſtice, in the beginning of the year, and in the opening of Spring, three feſtivals were religiouſly obſerved in honour of Thor, of Frigga, and of Odin *.

Origin of Superſtition.

However difficult it may be, to trace all the minute parts in any religious ſyſtem, to thoſe relations to the nature and the condition of mankind in which they originate; yet, ſo univerſal among men, is religion

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities.—Antiquitates Celto-Scand'cæ.

Sec. II. ligion, as a general principle of ſentiment and of belief, that its great ſources cannot well be ſuppoſed to be impenetrably hidden from inveſtigation. Creative fancy and tender ſenſibility mourning over the aſhes of a departed friend, ſeem to have firſt ſuggeſted to the uninſtructed ſavage mind, the idea of the exiſtence of ſupernatural beings, with faculties differing from thoſe of men only in ſuperior excellence and vigour. To give theſe beings, every perfection conceivable by the fancy of the ſavage, they were inveſted with an incongruous combination of thoſe qualities which were the moſt excellent in man, with ſuch as appeared moſt admirable in the other objects of nature. The ſame fond feelings and fancies which had, at firſt ſuggeſted the exiſtence of deities endowed with reaſon and ſentiment, ſoon exalted deceaſed mortals to the honours of divinity. Nearly by the ſame illuſion by which the qualities of the ſublimer objects of external nature had been conjoined to the faculties of man, were reaſon and ſentiment, *again* aſcribed, in a ſupernatural degree, to ſome of the more ſplendid, awful, and intereſting external objects. Prieſtcraft, policy, the fluctuations of arts and manners, the courſe of events, with the manifold changes rung upon caprice, fear, hope, and ignorance, did the reſt. Such has been the origin and progreſs, not merely of the mythology and theology of the Danes, but

but of moſt of the other forms of religion or ſuperſtition which have been known in the world. Even where religion has been the revelation of heaven to man, it has been, of neceſſity, adapted to his reaſon, his ſentiments, and his ſocial ſtate; and has gradually aſſumed many of the ſame features and colours, as if it had been abſolutely human, in its origin (T). Sec. II.

Literature.

The Danes had acquired among other arts, the uſe of letters. Their alphabet was the Runic, of Greek derivation. So much were the beautiful written ſigns of the Greeks deformed by thoſe barbarians, that the derivation can be diſcovered only by a very careful compariſon of the correſpondent characters. Few of the Scandinavians were ſkilled to uſe even that rude alphabet. In the hands of thoſe who knew to employ it, wondering ignorance viewed it rather as the taliſman of magic, than as the mute ſign of ſpeech and of thought. The Danes, as the Saxons, had their Scalds or minſtrels*, originally the diſciples and ſervants of their prieſts, but almoſt wholly divided from theſe, as manners became more complex, and as the prieſthood declined. The ſongs of the minſtrel ſolaced the toils, and crowned the feſtive enjoyments of the Daniſh hero. Even the hero himſelf often delighted to practiſe



* The word minſtrel, *miniſtrellus*, is of monkiſh impoſition, and anſwers to *Scald*, or even to *Bard*.

Sec. II. the minſtrel's art. The minſtrel's compoſitions were always Lyric. One favourite contrivance of compoſition which theſe rude poets employed, was, to ſuppoſe a dying hero, triumphing, amidſt the pangs and the horrour of death, in the remembrance and the recital of the deeds of his paſt life. In this form is the well-known death-ſong of Regner Lodbrog; an effuſion, moſt certainly not of his own, while he lay dying in a Northumbrian dungeon, but by ſome Norſe minſtrel who might be appointed to celebrate and to perpetuate his memory*.

Dreſs and armour.

The Danes wore more compleat, defenſive armour, than that of the Anglo-Saxons. They had had leathern caps and coats of mail, covered over with a net-work of wire. Their offenſive arms were the bow, the javelin, the ſword, and the ſpear. In their ordinary dreſs they were, commonly, more ſplendid than the Anglo-Saxons. Their habits of life appear to have been more favourable to perſonal beauty. Like our ſailors, and other members of the moſt civilized ſociety, whoſe lives are paſſed in an interchange of perils, toils, and want, with ſecurity, indolence, and full enjoyment; the Danes appear to have, very paſſionately enjoyed every ſenſual and ſocial pleaſure, at thoſe ſeaſons when they were at leiſure from war: They combed

* See Saxo Gramm.—Bartholin.—Mallet.—As alſo five pieces of Poetry, tranſlated by Dr Piercy.

combed out their long fair hair with almoſt foppiſh attention. They ſtudied what ſeemed affected cleanlineſs, neatneſs, and variety in their dreſs. And with theſe advantages, they practiſed many inſinuating gallantries which irreſiſtibly ſeduced the hearts of Anglo-Saxon virgins, wives, and widows *. Sec. II.

Such, then, are the more prominent features of the reſpective national characters of the Caledonians, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Scandinavians, the anceſtors of the preſent inhabitants of north Britain. The manners of the Britons of Strath-Clyde were little different. The native Galwegians, the poſterity of the Attacotti, were probably the moſt ſavage of all the ancient tribes that occupied the iſland; at leaſt, if it be true, as St Jerome relates, that he ſaw Attacottic ſoldiers, in Gaul, greedily devour human fleſh, and with a refinement of ſavage ſenſuality, ſelect the buttocks and the breaſts, as the choiceſt meſſes.

Anglo-Saxon manners imitated by the Scots & Picts.

In the centuries which elapſed, from the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, to the invaſions and conqueſts of the Danes; the manners and policy of the inhabitants of theſe northern parts of the iſland, underwent various changes, and received ſome improvements. Religion continued to ſoften and humanize the ſpirits of them all. The cuſtoms,



* Horda Angel-Cynnan.—G. Malms.

Sect. II. arts, and manners of the Anglo-Saxons were insensibly imitated and adopted by the Picts and the Scots. These latter nations learned, by slow degrees, to submit, more willingly, to civil government. They assumed the dress of their southern neighbours, adopted their legal institutions and distinctions of dignity, and attempted to exercise the more obviously useful of their arts. The Britons of Cumbria and Strath-Clyde perhaps declined in policy and civility, as their neighbours advanced: for, as states are enfeebled, diminished, and subverted by Foreign Arms; their domestic order is, at the same time, commonly dissolved, and their industry interrupted. Yet, the Galwegians appear to have been, not a little polished and enlightened, during their subjection to the Angles *.

The policy of the Picts affected by their subjection to the Northumbrians.

When the Picts were tributary to the Northumbrians, the dignity of *Thane*, become, by this time the distinction of nobility, with the Anglo-Saxons, was introduced into Pictland. The modes of tenure and the relations between rank and property, prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons became, in the same period, common among the Picts. If the Picts and Scots constructed any castles in the Anglo Saxon fashion; these have been dilapidated and razed by time and the accidents of war. Like their southern

* Beda in Historia Ecclesiastica.—Chronicon Pictorum.—Fordun Scotichronicon.

ſouthern neighbours, they were now, not ſo much hunters as herdſmen, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen *, Sec. II.

Upon theſe mixed Pictiſh and Anglo-Saxon manners, thoſe of the Danes were, in part, ſuperinduced by the conqueſts of theſe people in North Britain and its contiguous iſles, and by their intercourſe, whether friendly or hoſtile, with its Elder inhabitants. In Moray, the language and policy of the Danes and Norwegians, were probably as fully eſtabliſhed, as in Northumberland, in the Daniſh period of its hiſtory. In the iſles of Shetland, of Orkney, of the Hebudæ, and of Man, the ſame changes were accompliſhed by the ſame conquerors. On the coaſts of Argyleſhire, as well as through all theſe iſlands, various monuments, confeſſedly Daniſh, ſtill remain. Nor are ſuch monuments peculiar to thoſe parts of Scotland, and of the Scottiſh iſlets, in which the Danes or Norwegians were once excluſively eſtabliſhed. They were even ſcattered through this country, in temporary excurſions; and were introduced by imitation. The remains of the language, the cuſtoms, and the manners of the Danes have indeed been, in the courſe of time, entirely blended with thoſe upon which they were here ſuperinduced, and thoſe by which they have ſince

Daniſh manners introduced into North Britain.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

Sec. II. since been altered. Yet, discerning investigation can still discriminate them *.

Round towers. The round towers, vulgarly denominated *Pictish* are most probably in their fashion, originally Danish. They cannot have been of earlier erection than the period of the Roman sway; otherwise, of pieces of architecture so inartificial, yet not singularly remarkable for rude strength, there would not now one stone remain upon another. They are not Roman. They are not Saxon. They are not Scottish. Only the Danes and Norwegians remain, to whom their origin can, with any show of probability, be referred. The descriptions of the ancient Danish castles correspond to the appearance of these towers †.

Vitrified Forts. Other monuments certainly constructed by the Danes, are those vitrified fortifications which have been discovered in various naturally strong situations, on those coasts of Scotland which are universally known to have been invaded, and occasionally occupied by those people. The vitrification is confessedly the accidental effect of fires which have been kindled either to destroy the building, or for the accommodation of its inhabitants, or as signals for the communication of intelligence. Such structures cannot

* Northern Antiquities, compared with the works last quoted.

† Gordon's Iter Septrionale.—Pennant's Tours, &c.

cannot have been the work of a people prior to the ancient Caledonians; for, even these, at the time when they were invaded by the Romans, wanted skill to fortify themselves within such strongholds; and the country exhibited no indications of its having been once inhabited by a people more enlightened than they. After the Caledonians had been unavoidably instructed, more or less in Roman arts, any buildings which they erected, were of very different architecture. But, the structure, the situations of these forts, and the degree of dilapidation which they have suffered, all alike concur to evince that they must have been the works of the Pagan Danes who invaded Britain, in the eighth and ninth centuries. The round towers correspond to the *Keep;* the larger vitrified fortifications, for the most part to the *Base Court* of the Norman Castles *. SEC. II.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

* Archæologia, vols VI. and IX.—Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin.—Strutt's Horda Angel-Cynnan.

# NOTES

## TO CONFIRM AND ILLUSTRATE THE NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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### Note A. Page 2.

LETTERS, mythology, aſtronomy, the ſcience of government, the principles of general philoſophy, geometry, commerce, and architecture, with ſeveral others of the grand branches of human Art and Knowledge, are traced, in the inveſtigation of their origin, to Egypt, Phœnicia, and Chaldæa. The moſt ancient, authentic records of the tranſactions of mankind deduce the various nations of the earth from the ſame primary ſeats. Such are the not diſcordant teſtimonies of the Pentateuch of Moſes; of the fragments of Manetho and Sanchoniatho; of Homer and Herodotus, the fathers of Grecian poeſy and hiſtory. When the chronology of the Chineſe and the Hindoos ſhall have been reduced to order, and reconciled to the laws of probability; when the whole body of their literature ſhall have been ſurveyed, and the ſyſtem of their ſciences thoroughly inveſtigated; Theſe may poſſibly be found to accord with the Phœnician, the Jewiſh, and

and the Grecian records, in eſtabliſhing this grand hiſtorical fact. The literature of the Romans is of too late origin, to afford more than ſecondary evidence: That of all the other nations of antiquity, the Perſians and Arabians not excepted, is either too rude and imperfect, or too little known, or, like the Roman, too recent, to aid us greatly in this reſearch.

THE progreſs of population, from thoſe original ſeats, is a curious, but difficult ſubject of inveſtigation. Several of the nations of antiquity, in the vanity of barbarian ignorance, fancied their anceſtors to have ſprung up, by ſome ſort of miraculous vegetation, from the ſoil of their reſpective territories. Some pretended to be the lineal progeny of the Gods. Some confeſſed themſelves of Egyptian origin. Others were of Phœnician deſcent. Many have called themſelves Trojans. Not a few are undeniably from Grecian anceſtry.

BUT, after the fables of impoſture, and of credulous ignorance have been rejected; a few general facts concerning the gradual population of the earth may be ſatisfactorily aſcertained.

1. Men diſperſed themſelves both by progreſſes on land, and by adventures at ſea.

2. Theſe were prompted by all that variety of cauſes aſſigned in the Text.

3. Since navigation implies the exerciſe of labour more ingenious and aſſiduous than that of the hunter and the ſhepherd: men muſt therefore have diſperſed themſeves by progreſſes on land, before they began to emigrate by ſea.

4. The arts and ſciences have been tranſplanted from one region of the globe to another, chiefly by emigrants by ſea: For, they have been, more commonly barbarians who have emigrated over land; but colonies from civilized and enlighted nations, who have *failed*, in queſt of new ſettlements.

5. Since mountains, rivers, moraſſes, woods, and the ſeverities of climate operate as ſo many natural barriers, repelling the acceſs of mankind, and confining their wanderings; the firſt emigrants by land would naturally ſpread themſelves over thoſe unbroken plains of Aſia, to the ſouth and the eaſt; of which the extent was vaſt, the fertility inexhauſtibly rich, and the climate gentle and genial, rather torrid than chilling.

6. But, after men had been conſiderably multiplied on the earth, and after rival communities had

had ariſen; the ſame natural circumſtances which had formerly checked, ſerved now, on the contrary, to promote the progreſs of population. Exiles or voluntary emigrants now removed beyond barriers which might divide and protect them from all other nations. Nations who had already appropriated territories limited by natural boundaries, were careful to exclude ſtrangers from incroachment upon their confines. And mountains, rivers, and ſeas, thus became paſſages by which the diffuſion of population was neceſſarily directed in its courſe.

7. When the earth was ſo generally peopled, that new ſettlements could be obtained only by conqueſt; hunting tribes often invaded and ſubdued thoſe whoſe condition was paſtoral: agricultural and commercial nations were frequently conquered and pillaged by ſhepherd hordes: the inhabitants of hilly countries uſually overpowered, and ſubjugated or exterminated the poſſeſſors of adjacent plains; the inhabitants of cities, however ſeemingly the moſt ſecure, were, by the very circumſtances which appeared to conſtitute their ſtrength and ſecurity, more peculiarly expoſed to hoſtile invaſion; and level and cultivated countries, in general, oftenest ſuffered a change of maſters.

8. Iſlands muſt have received their population, for the moſt part, at a later period, than the contiguous continents. For, iſlands have generally owed to navigation and trade, their firſt occupation by human inhabitants.

9. With the iſlands, the ſea-coaſts, alſo, of continents, in general, appear to have been firſt occupied by the commercial nations. While the earth was, as yet, but thinly inhabited; the commercial nations eaſily obtained eſtabliſhments, even on ſhores within which barbarian hunters and ſhepherds were already diſperſed. Thus, the Phœnicians eſtabliſhed colonies in the north-weſt of Africa, in Spain, and in the Britiſh iſles; the Greeks, at Marſeilles, in Sicily, and in Italy.

10. From theſe general facts, compared with the teſtimony of hiſtory, it may be fairly inferred, that the northern, and north-weſtern parts of Aſia were peopled at an earlier period, than any other region of the globe, except thoſe ſouthern and eaſtern parts of Aſia, and thoſe north-eaſt tracts of Africa, which we have already ſeen to have been, in all probability, the primary ſeats of human ſociety.

11. It appears, that the wandering inhabitants both of the north-weſt of Aſia, and of the north

north-eaſt of Europe have been in general denominated SCYTHIANS by the moſt ancient writers of thoſe enlightened nations to whom they firſt became known.

12. The firſt grand diviſion of the Scythic tribes who advanced, overland, into the weſtern parts of Europe, have, from the ſame ancient writers, received the general and vague appellations of CELTS.

13. The ſecond grand diviſion of the ſame Scythic tribes, by whom Europe is related to have been peopled, were the TEUTONS, GOTHS, or GERMANS; a race who ſeem to have purſued the progreſs of the Celts, and who have been, in various places, intermingled among them.

14. Another great diviſion of theſe tribes, were the ancient SARMATIANS: Others, the HUNS, the MONGOLS, and other branches of the TARTARS.

15. Beſide theſe, are many other appellations which have been applied to the ancient tribes of the north of Aſia, and of Europe; but concerning which it is impoſſible to aſcertain, whether the tribes to whom they are given, were inferior diviſions, comprehended under thoſe grand and general diviſions

ſions above enumerated, or not rather diſtinct nations.

16. As ſo many proofs have concurred to evince, that the continent of America received its firſt ſupplies of population from the north-weſt of Aſia, or the north-eaſt of Europe; ſo, it appears equally probable, that they were Scythic tribes, who entered it by theſe paſſages.

17. By the ſame compariſon of thoſe general facts deducible from the character of human nature, and the circumſtances of mankind on the earth,—with the more minute and particular information which hiſtory affords,—might the progreſs of population be traced, eaſtward and ſouthward from its original ſeats; and the progreſs and ſettlement of the Nations of Ancient and Modern Europe minutely explained.—See upon this ſubject,

Veteris Teſtamenti Hebraici Geneſeos, cap. IX. X. XI. XII. editionis B. Kennicott, Oxon. 1776.—Herodoti Euterpen.—Diodori Siculi Biblioth. Hiſt. Lib. I. C. 10. & ſeq.—Plinii Hiſt. Nat. in volum. III. 114. II. 258. 474. V. 58. XI. 504. editionis Pariſienſis, 1782, cum verſione, notiſque Gallicis.—Euſebium de Preparat. Evang.—Pelloutier's Hiſtory of the Celts.—De Guignes' Hiſtory of the Huns.—Bryant's mythology.—Eſſays by Sir William Jones, in the Aſiatic Miſcellany.—Pinkerton's Eſſay on the Goths, &c.—Mallet's Northern Antiquities, tranſlated by Piercy, in the Tranſlator's Preface, and the firſt volume throughout.

NOTE B. Page 2.

CÆSAR's ſucceſſes in Gaul had been occaſionally interrupted, if not by the actual aid, yet by the encouragement which the nations of Gaul derived from their intercourſe with thoſe of Britain. But, the difficulties which he found in the navigation of the Channel ſhew the Gallic pilots, whoſe ſervices he could command, to have been but little acquainted with it. He ſpeaks of the arts of the inhabitants of Britain, as in ſome inſtances, more refined, than they can be inferred to have been, from the ſtate of the country, which he deſcribes. The dangers of the navigation, the terrours with which the minds of his ſoldiers were affected by the loſs of their ſhipping, and their ignorance of a country within the woods and moraſſes of which its native inhabitants were protected from invaſion; Theſe cauſes rather than the valour of the natives, checked the Roman General, in his firſt attempts againſt the Britons. Had there been no inequality between the Roman and the Britiſh ſoldiers, except that which was produced by the more orderly diſcipline of the former; this might have been counterbalanced, on the part of the latter, by the nature of the country, ſo ſingularly favourable to a looſe, ſkirmiſhing mode of fighting. But, it was the intelligence of civilization and of ſuperior genius, and the firmneſs, rather than the order or the arms, of diſcipline

cipline which gave Cæſar that doubtful ſuperiority over the Britons, with which he finally left this iſland. Subſequent hiſtorians have allowed him the merit of diſcovering Britain, but not that of conquering it. The tribute which he impoſed upon the ſouthern Britons was very careleſsly paid. The coinage of ſome of the contemporary Britiſh princes, bearing inſcriptions in Roman characters, may, indeed, have been intended for the tribute which the Romans continued to claim from the Britons, from the period of Cæſar's invaſion. But the workmanſhip of thoſe coins is ſo entirely Roman, as to ſuggeſt the inference, that they might be, for ſome purpoſe, fabricated by the Romans, in the names of the Britiſh ſovereigns.

Concerning the Druids, the prieſthood of the ancient Gauls and Britons, Cæſar's authority is certainly the firſt in all antiquity. Yet, in that ſyſtematizing ſpirit, which is at once the great Advancer of Science, and the Parent of Errour, we have, in modern times, known miſſionaries Catholic and Proteſtant, travellers commercial and philoſophical, to diſcover *fancied* reſemblances of the religious opinions and ceremonies, of the cuſtoms, and of the manners of diſtant and ſavage nations,—to thoſe of their native country: even the ſound and luminous mind of Sir William Jones has not eſcaped the influence

fluence of this cauſe of errour. And Cæſar has undoubtedly been miſled by this principle, and by that reverence with which the myſteries of ſuperſtition are apt to impreſs even the firmeſt and moſt liberal minds: and has hence attributed to the Druids and their followers, the worſhip of Roman and Grecian deities to which they were certainly ſtrangers; the belief of philoſophical doctrines too refined and ſubtile for their apprehenſion; and the cultivation of ſciences with which, in their unſkilfulneſs in the arts, it is hardly poſſible, that they could be acquainted. Yet, Cæſar we know to have ſpoken, in this matter, from his own immediate obſervations and enquiries. It is only from ſecondary and remote information, that almoſt all the other writers of antiquity ſpeak of Druidiſm.

See *Cæſaris Commentarios, de Bello Gallico, in Libris V. and VI.*

NOTE C. Page 3.

Before Agricola was ſent into Britain, the generals and the armies of Rome had already made conſiderable progreſs in the conqueſt of the iſland. However ridiculous the termination of Caligula's expedition againſt the Britons; the arms of Claudius were more honourably ſucceſsful. Caractacus and Boadicia were ſubdued. The ſacred groves of Mona were deſtroyed, and the Druids maſſacred. Provincial governments were eſtabliſhed; military roads

were conſtructed; farms were cultivated; cities built. Only the northern diſtricts of the preſent England, with Scotland, remained to be conquered.

In this ſtate of the Roman affairs, was Agricola ſent into Britain. His firſt cares were employed in regulating the interior concerns of his government, and in quelling ſome inſurrections of thoſe natives who were, as yet but imperfectly ſubdued. He then advanced to attack the nations in the ſouthern diſtricts of the preſent Scotland. His fleets circumnavigated the northern extremities of the iſland. He led his army in the third year of his authority in Britain, beyond the Forth; and eſtabliſhed thoſe military ſtations which are ſtill traced at Ardoch, on the banks of the Tay, and at Fortingall. In the fourth year of his government, he formed the chain of military poſts between the Friths of Forth and Clyde. In his fifth year, he embarked on the Frith of Clyde, and viſited the coaſts of Ayrſhire, Galloway, and Argyleſhire. The ſixth year of his government was diſtinguiſhed by the victory over the great Caledonian army commanded by Galgacus: the ſcene of which was, moſt probably, towards the north-eaſt confine of the preſent Angus-ſhire. Soon after obtaining this ſignal and deciſive victory, Agricola was recalled. Had the period of his authority been

been prolonged, the conqueſt of all Scotland might have been compleatly accompliſhed.

The Roman generals in Britain, from the æra of the conqueſts of Claudius, to Agricola, were,

1. Aulus Plautius, ſent by Claudius, A. U. C. 796.
2. Oſtorius Scapula, ſent by Claudius, A. U. C. 803.
3. Aulus Didius, ſent by Claudius, A. U. C. 804.
4. Q. Veranius, ſent by Claudius, A. U. C. 805.
5. Suetonius Paulinus, ſent by Nero, A. U. C. 814.
6. Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero, 815.
7. Trebellius Maximus, by Nero, 816.
8. Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius, 822.
9. Petilius Cerealis, by Veſpaſian, 824.
10. Julius Frontinus, by Veſpaſian, 826.
11. Cnœus Julius Agricola, by Veſpaſian, 831.

See *Suetonii Vitæ Cæſarum; Taciti Vita Agricolæ:* Gordon's *Iter Septentrionale;* Pennant's Tours in Scotland: Statiſtical Account of the pariſh of Fortingall, &c.

## NOTE D. Page 4.

It ſeems impoſſible to aſcertain preciſely the period of the entrance of the CELTS into Britain. If theſe Celts ſhould be allowed to have been the firſt grand diviſion of mankind who advanced into the weſtern parts of Europe; and it it ſhould be, at the ſame time, granted, that their entrance into Eu-

rope was towards its northern extremity, and their progreſs, at once weſtward and ſouthward: Then might we perhaps venture to argue, that the anceſtors of the Romans were of the ſame Celtic ſtock, as the firſt occupants of Britain; and that Britain received its firſt inhabitants nearly about the æra of the foundation of Rome. The tale which repreſented Brutus the Trojan, as having conducted a colony into Britain, was indeed fabulous: Yet, were the Romans and the Britons perhaps deſcended from one common anceſtry. For, although one part of the progenitors of the Romans and the contemporary inhabitants of Italy, might be Aſiatic or Grecian coloniſts who had come into Italy by ſea; yet, the others who were deemed Aboriginal, were probably Celts who had ſurmounted the Alps, and poured down upon the Italian plains; at the ſame time, when other tribes, of the ſame race, croſſed the Engliſh Channel.

Confined within an iſland, the Britiſh Celts were thus at once protected from invaſion, and ſecluded from the acceſs of knowledge and civilization.

If it be true, as Cæſar relates, that Britain was the grand ſeat of Druidiſm, in which it exiſted in more genuine purity than in Gaul; then may we fairly infer, that its purity had been preſerved chief-

ly

ly by the inſular ſituation of the Britiſh Celts, precluding them from the imitation of foreign ſuperſtition, and from that enlargement of knowledge which gradually ſtrengthens the mind, to throw off ſuperſtition's yoke. It was long before any of the Teutonic race found their way into Britain. The Greeks ſought no ſettlements in this iſland. We know not, that the Phœnicians left in it, any monuments of their arts, any tradition of their ſcience, any memorials of their ſuperſtition.

The BELGÆ mentioned by Cæſar, as inhabiting the ſea-coaſts of that part of Britain which he explored, are at the ſame time, traced by him, to the Belgic tribes on the continent, from which they were reſpectively deſcended. Their immigration into Britain was, therefore, comparatively recent. They had perhaps not yet entered this iſland, at the æra of the irruption of the Teutons and Cimbri into Italy. Had the period of their emigration from Belgia been more remote; its memory muſt have been loſt, among a people almoſt deſtitute of literary monuments. With the coming of the Belgæ, the dawn of civilization appears to have opened upon this iſland.

See *Livii Hiſt. Rom: Plinii Hiſt. Nat: Galfred. Mon.—Cæſaris Com. L. V.*

NOTE

NOTE E. Page 7.

Few ſubjects of hiſtoric reſearch have been more variouſly repreſented, or more paſſionately agitated than the queſtion concerning the Firſt Population of North Britain.

I. One claſs of writers have repreſented the ancient inhabitants of Scotland to have been all of Iriſh, and, more remotely of Scythian and Egyptian deſcent.

Others believe them to have advanced northwards from South Britain.

A third opinion is, that they all immigrated directly from Scandinavia and Germany.

A fourth, that the Picts, the ſame as the Caledonians of Tacitus, were of German origin; the Scots, named alſo Attacotti and Dalreudeni, of Iriſh extraction; the firſt inhabitants of that part of Scotland, which was once included in the Roman Province of Valentia,—from South Britain.

There are divers other modifications of theſe opinions, leſs worthy of a particular enumeration.

II. The

II. The remoteneſs and obſcurity of the period of the events to which all theſe opinions refer, are ſuch as to leave it impoſſible for us now to eſtabliſh any one of them upon ſatisfactory hiſtorical evidence. But, the degrees of their reſpective probabilities are different.

The ſeveral ſpecies of evidence which we ſhould here require to concur, are, I believe,

1. The contemporary written teſtimony of one or more writers who had acceſs to know the truth of the facts; were, confeſſedly, under no temptations to diſguiſe it; and have been capable to narrate it with clearneſs and preciſion:

2. Coincidences or diverſities of labours, knowledge, and enjoyments,—of language, arts, and manners,—correſponding to the narrated events; and equally related by credible contemporary writers:

3. Monuments of art, ſuch as coins and buildings, affording unequivocal teſtimony of the facts, and clearly referable to the period of their event; or illuſtrating, but with the ſame clearneſs and preciſion, only the arts and manners, correſponding to thoſe facts:

4. Beſide

4. Beſide theſe, are hardly any other modifications of hiſtorical evidence; except inferior and imperfect degrees of theſe. The written authority may be, by a century or two later than the event. It may be obſcure or innaccurate. The writer's faith may be doubtful. Contemporary writers may contradict one another. Language and manners may poſſibly not correſpond. The facts may not be expreſsly related; but may be only deducible from an aſſemblage of other facts which are ſo. And in a thouſand other ways may the force of this ſame hiſtorical evidence be varied or diminiſhed, till even the fainteſt ſhades of probability vaniſh. Tradition may be, under certain circumſtances, accepted as authentic hiſtoric evidence: But, the experience of common life ſufficiently teaches us, that, beyond a ſucceſſion of three generations, or a century and a half, oral tradition alone is not to be truſted.

III. 1. But, it is not pretended, that we have any contemporary written record of the time and the circumſtances of the firſt population of North Britain.

2. Neither have we any ſufficiently ancient memorial of *manners*; which, belonging to the firſt inhabitants of Scotland in common with ſome contiguous nation; and being, at the ſame time, peculiar

liar enough, to appear not of native growth, but derived; might thus indicate the origin of our remote anceſtors.

3. As to coins, or other remains of art, perpetuating the memory of the firſt inhabitants of North Britain, ſo as to explain the circumſtances of their immigration into this part of the iſland:—Theſe are equally wanting.

4. Nothing, then, but a ſecondary and ſubordinate ſpecies of evidence can be here obtained. We attain, at beſt, only to a doubtful probability. It is unfortunate, that, in ſuch caſes, men ſhould always the moſt readily indulge that partiality, that arrogance, that maniac rage, that wild extravagance of imagination which wholly vitiate the organs, and diſcolour the medium of mental viſion.

IV. I ſhall now proceed to ſtate, with diffidence, thoſe grounds upon which I have adopted the view of *theſe facts*, which is exhibited in the Text.

1. It is probable, that, at leaſt, ſome part of the ancient Caledonians were directly from Scandinavia and Germany; For,

At a period, when the different races of the inhabitants of theſe northern regions had not yet been undiſtinguiſhably intermingled; nor their exterior perſonal characteriſtics melted down into accidental differences of individual forms: The ancient Caledonians are deſcribed by Tacitus, as ſtrikingly ſimilar in ſtature, aſpect, and complexion, to the Germans:

Innumerable are the adventures and accidents, by which ſavages, however ignorant of navigation, may be driven from ſhore to ſhore; And, it was little leſs natural for the north-eaſt parts of Scotland, to be firſt peopled from the contiguous coaſts of Scandinavia; than for South Britain to receive its firſt inhabitants from the ſhores of Belgia and Gaul:

Eſpecially if we conſider, that the firſt inhabitants of Europe, moſt probably, entered it towards its northern extremity; and that, by conſequence, Scandinavia might be inhabited at a period, at leaſt, as early, as that of the firſt population of Belgic or Celtic Gaul.

2. It is not leſs probable, that a part of the ancient inhabitants of North Britain,—the Caledonians of Tacitus,—were from South Britain; For,

All

All the remains of the ancient language of the inhabitants of Scotland, whether names of places, the lofty epithets and appellatives of poeſy, or the phraſeology of ordinary converſation, are, for as much as can be clearly diſcerned, wholly Celtic; differing from the Celtic of Wales, of Gaul, of Ireland, of the preſent Highlanders of Scotland, only in the ſame proportion in which the ruder dialects of ancient Greece differed from one another; And this could not poſſibly have happened, if the ancient Caledonians had been, either wholly, or even for the greater part, Germans, ſpeaking a language radically diſtinct from the Celtic:

Beſides, the ſouthern diviſion of the preſent Scotland is unanimouſly confeſſed to have been inhabited, in the æra of Agricola's conqueſts, by tribes that had advanced from South Britain; But, it appears, by the hiſtory of the ſame conqueſts, that, till they approached the Grampian mountains, there were no natural barriers conſiderable enough to ſtop the farther progreſs of thoſe who had once reached the iſthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde:

Nor is it probable, that, when the Romans puſhed their conqueſts northwards, gaining victory after victory; roaming barbarians, ſuch as the Britiſh

tribes, would not retire before them, even to parts of the iſland which they had not yet explored; the Celts thus intermingling with the Germans in Caledonia, incroaching upon them, and aſſociating with them;

The army with which the Caledonians encountered Agricola, when he gained his laſt victory, at the foot of the Grampian mountains, is deſcribed by Tacitus, as more conſiderable, than it could well have been, if it had been compoſed of none but the German inhabitants of Caledonia.

3. As to the ancient intercourſe between Scotland and Ireland, and the mutual colonization of theſe two countries from one another; it is hardly poſſible to form any judgment, which may be, in any meaſure deciſive. Only,

It ſhould ſeem, that the ſame language was ſpoken on the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, and in the North of Ireland;

By the interview of the Iriſh chieftain with Agricola, it likewiſe appears, that the Caledonians and the Hibernians had been already accuſtomed to mutual intercourſe:

As

As Britain lies more contiguous than Ireland, to the continent of Europe; the former of theſe iſlands was therefore likely to be peopled, from the continent, ſooner than the latter; And if Britain were firſt peopled, the inference is almoſt unavoidable, that its inhabitants muſt have been the firſt to paſs over, to the adjacent ſhores of Ireland.

If the Germans and the Celts were, indeed, intermingled together, the Celts in the greater proportion, in the north and the north-weſt of Scotland; and if it ſhould be allowed, that Ireland might receive from Scotland, the firſt occupants of its north-eaſtern parts: Then will it follow, that in theſe parts of Ireland, as in Scotland, there muſt have been, in all probability, a mixed race of Goths or Germans, and of Celts:

Yet, ſo various are the poſſible means by which any country, eſpecially any iſland, may be firſt peopled; and ſo ſlender are the only grounds on which Ireland can be alledged to have received its firſt population from the north-weſt of Scotland; That, notwithſtanding the vain pretenſions equally of the Scots and of the Iriſh, and the fables countenancing theſe pretenſions, which were anciently admitted into the Scottiſh hiſtory; It muſt ſtill remain extremely uncertain, whether the firſt colony went from the

weſt

weſt of Scotland, into Ireland, or came from the north of Ireland, into Scotland.

V. Upon *theſe conſiderations*, chiefly, is it aſſerted in the Text, that, the firſt inhabitants, at leaſt, of the ſouth and the ſouth-eaſt parts of Scotland were, moſt probably from South Britain; the firſt occupants of our moſt diſtant northern ſhores, probably of Scanian deſcent; and the circumſtances of the early intercourſe between Scotland and Ireland, abſolutely uncertain.

See, for the ſeveral opinions concerning the firſt population of Scotland, *Forduni Scotichronicon*,—Pinkerton's Enquiry,—Macpherſon's Diſſertation—and Introduction, &c.; but eſpecially Biſhop Nicholſon's Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library; For the facts upon which the narrative in the Text reſts,—*Taciti Vita Agricolæ*, *Forduni*, *S. C. Majoris*, *Boethii*, *Leſlæi*, *Buchanani Hiſtorias*, Sibbald's Hiſtory of Fife and Kinroſs-ſhire, Statiſtical Account *paſſim*, &c.

## NOTE F. Page 14.

If, for the facts of hiſtory we invariably demand the evidence of writers unprejudiced, well-informed, and who lived in the age in which paſſed the events that they relate; we ſhall find it impoſſible to aſcertain ſatisfactorily, the period at which the Scots entered this iſland. In the hiſtory of the fourth century do the Roman writers firſt begin to ſpeak of the Scots and the Picts, inſtead of the Caledonians and the Mæatæ. The progreſs of the hiſtory

tory of the Picts offers various reaſons to induce us to believe them to have been the ſame as the Caledonians. It is well known, that the Scots were not the Mæatæ.

An intercourſe had been carried on between Scotland and Ireland, long before this period. But, of the nature and the circumſtances of that intercourſe we muſt be content to remain ignorant. In this century, however, the greater part of Britain was occupied by a lettered people, and was ſubject to a Government likely to watch with circumſpection, all the motions of the different inhabitants. A clergy, too, if not erudite, yet not illiterate, were, at the ſame time, buſily employed in propagating Chriſtianity through all the acceſſible parts of Britain and Ireland. Information worthy of the ſacred veracity of hiſtory may therefore be expected concerning the Britiſh nations of this age.

Yet, is there little ſuch information to be obtained. The Roman writers tell not whence came the Scots and Attacots of whom they begin to ſpeak. The only writings of the Britiſh, the Iriſh, the Scottiſh, and the Anglo-Saxon clergy which yet remain, are not earlier in their date, than the ſixth or the ſeventh century.

By

By Ammianus Marcellinus, particularly, and by St Jerome, are the Attacotti mentioned; the Scots from this time, by every Greek or Roman writer who treats of, or even incidentally mentions the Britiſh hiſtory. But, Ammianus informs us not of the immigration of the Attacotti into Britain, nor of their particular local ſituation in the iſland; and concerning theſe circumſtances, contentions have ariſen among later enquirers. Yet, if the Picts poſſeſſed the northern and the eaſtern parts of the Transforthane diviſion of Scotland; the Scots, the weſtern parts, bounded, not by the Forth, but by the Clyde; and the Mæatæ, thoſe midland parts which were continually a ſcene of conteſt between the Romans and the free natives; We muſt either place the Attacotti upon the mountains which extend from the brink of the Iriſh channel, between Galloway and Ayrſhire, to the border of Lanerkſhire, or, with Camden, refer them rather to the mountains of Wales. If new tribes had appeared at this time, in a diſtrict ſo entirely ſubject to the Romans as Wales, their place would ſurely have been mentioned by one or another of the Roman writers. Nor would they have been repreſented as continually aiding the inroads of the Scots, if they had been divided from theſe latter people by intervening provinces.——

St

St Jerome relates of ſome of theſe Attacotti, who had been inliſted in the Roman Legions, that he had ſeen them, in Gaul, devour human fleſh, and with an appetite not leſs faſtidious than cruel, cut off the breaſts and the buttocks of men and women, while they were yet half alive, to devour theſe as the choiceſt pieces of the carcaſe. But, even the moſt ſavage nations have never been accuſtomed to devour human fleſh, unleſs in the madneſs of *ſuperſtition* or *revenge*, or in the torments of *hunger*. Human fleſh was never yet ſought, as the ordinary food of any of mankind. Nature ſhudders at the thought. Not a hint has been given by any other Roman writer ſignifying that the ancient inhabitants of North Britain were Cannibals. In the days of Jerome, the Chriſtian Clergy had already begun to take a wonderful delight in believing and relating the incredible. I ſhall therefore, without heſitation, pronounce Jerome's tale to be either the miſrepreſentation of a careleſs obſerver, or a fiction produced with ſome diſhoneſt purpoſe.

I cannot help adding, in this place, that the manners of the Attacotti, as they are related to have exhibited them in the Roman armies, accord remarkably with thoſe aſcribed to the Wild Scots of Galloway who uſually led the van of the Scottiſh armies in their ancient invaſions of England.

Our early hiſtorians, but eſpecially Gildas and Bede, ſpeak of an *immigration*, an *exile*, and a *return* of the Scots, *before* the *ſixth century*. And it is indeed probable, that the Scots,—whom we have found, in the commencement of our hiſtory, on the weſtern verge of the iſland,—who long acknowledged a near affinity to the Iriſh, and whom their own traditional poetry, with the writings of Iriſh, Scottiſh, and Anglo-Saxon clergy have deduced from Ireland;—it is probable, that this people came from Ireland, into the weſtern parts of Scotland, about the time at which they begin to be mentioned in the Roman-Britiſh hiſtory. But, we have no evidence ſufficient to convince us that the Britons deſerted by the Romans were able to accompliſh what the Romans had not effected; and to expel the Scots out of this iſland, after they had once firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves in it. The Scots and the Iriſh might, in that early period, come and go, in parties, between the two iſlands. But, that the Scots were totally expelled by a momentary ſally of the feeble Britons, only very ſtrong written teſtimony of a date contemporary with the event, ſhould perſuade me to believe.

The identity of the Scots with the Attacots is confirmed by all the ſame circumſtances which prove the

the Attacots to have been ſeated in Galloway, rather than in any other part of Britain.

See Amm. Marc. Hiſt. Lib. XX. XXVI. XXVII.—Hieronymi Opera, in Edit. Eraſm. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. I: Gildam apud Gall.

## NOTE G. Page 15.

The poems of Oſſian are perhaps the moſt remarkable literary remain of the Barbarous Ages of Europe. They merit ſpecial conſideration in two points of view; as records of hiſtory; and as monuments of poeſy. Unfortunately, it is now impoſſible to fix, with preciſion, the æra of their compoſition.

The ſtate of manners which they deſcribe, and the intercourſe between Scotland, Ireland, the Hebudæ, the Orkneys, and the coaſts of Scandinavia, which they commemorate, appear to accord better with the hiſtory of the period to which they are referred in the Text, than with that of any more remote period, of which there is any thing known to us. It is extremely improbable that they ſhould have been produced in a later age. Chriſtianity was ſoon after introduced among the inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland; and if theſe poems had been compoſed after its reception, they would undoubtedly have been marked with ſome impreſſion of its forms, or inſpired with ſome portion of its ſpirit.

Soon after this period, too, the order of ſociety became more complex and artificial, as well in Scotland, as in Ireland, than theſe poems repreſent it. The invaſions and conqueſts of the Danes followed. They were, at length, expelled or ſubdued. By this time, however, the manner of the inhabitants of Scotland had been ſtill more entirely altered from their ancient ſimplicity.—Thus does it appear that, the works of Oſſian cannot be the productions of an age later than the fourth or the fifth century of our æra.—In ſuch a caſe as the preſent, the laws of juſt reaſoning ſeem to require, that we refer compoſitions of which we cannot preciſely aſcertain the date, to the lateſt period in which it is not unlikely, that they might have their origin.

But, having, with heſitation and uncertainty, referred them to this period, we cannot yet derive much hiſtorical information from their tenor. The perſons and the places celebrated are almoſt all unknown, except in theſe poems alone. No exiſting monument of art is referred to, in them. Till within theſe laſt three hundred years, they were preſerved by oral tradition only. Both facts and ſtyle have undoubtedly been altered, corrupted, from time to time modernized; juſt like our Engliſh legendary and heroic ballads; of ſome of which we have three or four different *ſets*, compoſed after ſo many

many ſucceſſive intervals; one ſtill as the language of a former became obſolete, or as ſome prejudice of taſte or of intereſt was to be gratified by an arbitrary variation of the facts. After the lapſe of an hundred and fifty, or of two hundred years, the oral traditions even of a whole people, unleſs otherwiſe corroborated, ceaſe to be ſatisfactory evidence of the reality of any event: And even when an event is commemorated in an artificial compoſition which muſt be laboriouſly committed to memory, it cannot be certainly preſerved, in this unwritten record, above a century or two longer.—Upon all theſe conſiderations, I am induced to regard the facts which have been introduced into the Text, from theſe poems of Oſſian, rather as the moſt probable ſtate of the ſtory, than as indubitable hiſtoric truth.

Nay, to deſcend to a particular explanation of the reſult of my enquiries and reflections upon this head: It is obvious to obſerve, that the literature and the hiſtory of all nations, wherever their origin has been traced, have been found to commence with unwritten compoſitions, of which the authors and the dates were uncertain, and with a ſeries of tales in which fact was undiſtinguiſhably intermixed with fables. To theſe claſſes belong the poems aſcribed to Oſſian, and the ſtories of thoſe poems. By what canons of criticiſm ſhall we aſcertain, which of the many ſongs recited

recited by our Gaelic peaſantry, are the genuine compoſitions of the ſon of Fingal? Of any particular poem, who ſhall tell us, what ſtanzas are genuine? which foiſted in by poſterior bards? Would not bards leſs illuſtrious ſtrive to recommend their own works to applauſe, by aſcribing them to a name ſo celebrated as that of Oſſian? While time obliterated meaner names, the ſongs of many a poet, and of various ages have here, moſt probably, been aſcribed to one perſon. The old ſongs in the Anglo-Saxon dialect of the Lowlands of Scotland, are numerous: but of all thoſe of any conſiderable antiquity, the authors are unknown, or at leaſt uncertainly known; and, if they were collected, they muſt either be all attributed, at random, to one, two, or three diſtinguiſhed minſtrels, or muſt elſe be confeſſed to be compoſitions, of the authors of which the memory has been loſt.

The Greeks, the Perſians, the Hindoos, the Chineſe, and among the inhabitants of the North of Europe, the Welſh, confeſſedly, and the Danes have had their reſpective heroes, whoſe real actions have been exalted, expanded, multiplied, diſguiſed into fable, in the extravagance of admiration, the ſimple credulity of ignorance, the confuſion and the fallacies of oral tradition. Of this character, in reſpect to the ancient Scots, are Fingal, his ſons, and their chief

chief companions. Theirs are the only names that have outlived the dark and unrecorded period which preceded the dawn of our hiſtory. On them, therefore, has been heaped the praiſe of many qualities above what they poſſeſſed, and of many actions beyond what they performed. In the tranſlations of the poems of Oſſian, Fingal and the groupe of heroes by whom he is encircled, are reduced to a moderate height above the level of ordinary mortals. But, in the originals, as they are repeated among the Gaelic peaſantry, they are giants, necromancers, demi-gods.

Theſe poems are not leſs common among the Iriſh, than among the Scots of the Highlands. Fingal and Oſſian are furiouſly claimed by the Iriſh for fellow-countrymen and anceſtors. Nor is this ſtrange. Deſcended from the ſame ſtock; inhabiting mutually contiguous iſlands; intermingling continually in intercourſe friendly or hoſtile; enjoying equally thoſe few accommodations of life which their condition afforded; advancing, whenever they did advance, with equal ſteps, from rudeneſs to refinement; The ſame traditional poetry thus became, of neceſſity, common to the ancient Scots and Iriſh. When dates were forgotten, and the names of places changed or confounded, it was extremely natural, that both ſhould claim what was familiar alike to

to both, and was peculiarly glorious to thoſe to whom it might be aſcertained to belong.

It is remarkable, that, in the hands of the Iriſh, the poems of Oſſian have been connected with the hiſtory of Chriſtianity; while, hardly any veſtiges of any religion can be diſcovered in them, as they have been preſerved by the Scots. The Iriſh clergy have probably endeavoured, with ſucceſs, to employ ſongs, of which they found the people extravagantly fond, as inſtruments for the propagation of religion, and to eſtabliſh their own authority. The Scottiſh, have neglected to avail themſelves of the ſame means. The early ſubjection of the Scottiſh church to the diſcipline of Rome, and the conſequent introduction of a foreign clergy, and a foreign literature into Scotland, appear to have produced this neglect. There ſeems to have been long a cordial underſtanding between the Iriſh monks, and the deſcendents of the bards. Were there any remains of the learning of Hyona, this ſubject might be more ſatisfactorily elucidated.

But, although not genuine records of hiſtory, and probably not all, the compoſitions of one man; yet, the poems aſcribed to Oſſian are undeniably, monuments of the poetry and the manners of a people almoſt deſtitute of policy, and ſtrangers to civilization.

lization. The only features in their character, that can ſeem to render this doubtful, are the tenderneſs, the delicacy, the generoſity of ſentiment, breathed, every where through them.—But, in the meaner ranks of life among ourſelves, in which the mind is as little poliſhed or enlarged as in the ſavage ſtate, how often are the ſentiments of filial and parental affection, of love, of friendſhip, of hoſpitality, of cordial charity, more fervent, more faithful, more exalted, more feelingly alive, than amid the refinement, the luxury, the illumination of wealth and knowledge? The peaſant ſhares with his family, the ſlender pittance which he has earned by the waſte of his ſtrength, his ſpirits, his life, with a degree of ſympathetic enjoyment too exquiſite to be known to the blunter feelings of the great. Often does the cottage mother follow to the grave, the children, to nouriſh and clothe whom ſhe had withheld from herſelf even neceſſary food and raiment; over whoſe ſick-bed ſhe had hung with a fond anguiſh, in compariſon with which the ſacrifice of life would have been little; in whoſe life, in ſhort, hers was ſo cloſely bound up, that ſhe cannot endure to linger behind them, and that exhauſted nature quickly yields to her deſire. It is in the ſimple, yet ſolemn prayers of the ruſtic with his family, that devotion appears moſt fervent, moſt amiable, moſt ſublime. It is pure ſympathy of ſoul, not ſenſual appetite,

that unites the village-lover to his miſtreſs. Accurſed be the tongue that has dared to flatter greatneſs, wealth, and luxury by ſpeciouſly maintaining, that the heart is purified, and that the ſentiments are exalted, with the exaltation of rank, and the increaſe and refinement of exterior accommodations!

And ſhall we deny to the independent and elevated mind of the ſavage, the ſame tender generoſity of ſentiment, which moſt ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhes thoſe among ourſelves whoſe character approaches the moſt nearly to his? although we ſee them placed indeed in a condition of abject dependence and ſubmiſſion, in which their minds are neceſſarily depreſſed, and their ſentiments debaſed! It is confeſſed, and it can be evinced by a thouſand proofs, beſide thoſe which the poems of Oſſian afford; that, among the ſavage and barbarous people who anciently inhabited the northern countries of Europe, the condition of the women was not that of abject inferiority; but that the empire of beauty and of female delicacy was then ſupreme, more than in the moſt polite and gallant of our modern courts. Wherever this empire is eſtabliſhed, all the tender affections, all the gentler paſſions invariably flouriſh. We have ſeen ſavage nature in circumſtances which tended to blunt the feelings, and to debauch the affections; and we have raſhly inferred,

that

that the groſſneſs and inſenſibility which we there beheld, were invariable characteriſtics of ſavage life. We have ſeen only the *exterior* aſpect of ſociety in its firſt and ſimpleſt ſtage; and when its *interior* beauties are unveiled to us, we turn from them, as a ſcene of magic deceptions. Place men in any condition in which they ſhall know no predominating power, but the neceſſities of nature: Let them be diſtinguiſhed from one another by no inequalities of rank or fortune, and by no ſuperiority or inferiority dependent ſolely on difference of ſex: Scatter them thus through a wild and dreary region, in parties ſo ſmall, that they may know enough of ſocial intercourſe to diſpoſe them to value it, and not more: You will aſſuredly ſee ſpring up among them, all that tenderneſs, that generoſity, that conſtancy of ſocial ſentiment which, amid the ignorance and the ferocity of ſavage life, adorned the ancient Scots and Picts. The ſtory related by Tacitus, of a German Lady, the daughter of Segeſtes, the wife of Arminius, bears a remarkable reſemblance to the tales of ſeveral of the poems of Oſſian. Arminius and Segeſtes were chiefs of German tribes: the former the invincible defender of the liberties of his country; the latter, the willing vaſſal of the Romans. They were, by conſequence, rivals and mutual enemies. This hindered not Arminius from being captivated with the beauty of

the daughter of Segeſtes. He carried her off by violence; and, ſhe became his wife. She fell afterwards into her father's hands; who retiring from among the Germans, more diſpoſed to take part with Arminius, paſſed over with her, and with his only ſon, to the Romans. But, the affections of his daughter were with her huſband. The wife of Arminius ſcorned her father's baſeneſs, and accompanied him to the Roman camp, a reluctant captive. Filia Segeſtis, ſays the eloquent hiſtorian, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas, neque voce ſupplex, compreſſis intra ſinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens! Do not theſe ſeem the outlines of the tale of a Gaelic ſong? Is not this the ſpirit, the carriage of a Caledonian heroine?

The clemency of Fingal and his heroes to vanquiſhed enemies, has been thought incompatible with ſavage ferocity. But, they had no motives of avarice or ſuperſtition, to urge their cruelty. They had no inſtitutions forbidding mercy. Their rage, although impetuous even to madneſs, was a momentary guſt. Men's hearts, however exaſperated by injury and anger, ſoon relent and yearn towards each other, when they find themſelves alike expoſed to innumerable and inſuperable, natural evils. It is the amiable characteriſtic of humanity, that benevolence

volence ever predominates in the breaſt, when the influence of the malignant paſſions is not cheriſhed and enforced by the prejudices of avarice, of ſuperſtition, or of policy. Where domeſtic life was endeared by the tendereſt affections and the moſt generous ſentiments, cruelty could never be coolly exerciſed, even upon conquered enemies.—And let it be remembered that with all theſe amiable qualities, the heroes and heroines of the old Gaelic ſongs are yet repreſented with all the caprices, the ficklenes, the ſtormy and varying paſſions of the ſavage character.

Yet is it undeniable, which has been aſſerted in the Text, that theſe remains of Gaelic poeſy, corrupted, mutilated, modernized in the courſe of tradition: the tales of fiction, credulity, and ignorance; the compoſitions of various authors, attributed, without proof, to one eminent name which hath outlived the reſt; have been alſo pruned, poliſhed, enlarged, defaced, embelliſhed, and wrought up into new forms by the tranſlators, who have given them to Engliſh readers. I think it was by the command of Nero, that the brazen ſtatutes of Lyſippus were covered over with gilding. The French have long thought it a diſgraceful meanneſs of genius in Homer, that he had not taken care to furniſh his heroes with valets, with cooks, and with all

all the camp-equipage, in ſhort, of a French prince making a campaign. La Motte dreſſed him up to their taſte. National and family pride have often betrayed men into fooliſh and ridiculous oſtentation. We delight to trace back our deſcent through an endleſs line of anceſtors; and we ſtrive to throw a reflected luſtre on our own meanneſs, ignorance and imbecility, by aſcribing to thoſe anceſtors, all that is magnificent in power, or ingenious in art, or luminous in knowledge. Had not thoſe who encouraged the firſt publication of theſe poems, ſought to produce a wonder; all might have been well. But, the names were to be made ſmooth and muſical; detached ſongs were to be pieced together into Epic poems; every mark of ſavage ſimplicity was to be carefully obliterated; the widely different excellencies of barbariſm and refinement were to be exhibited in union; another Homer was to be conjured up.

When all this had been done; it was equally entertaining to obſerve the jealouſy and indignation of the Engliſh, and the little invidious arts which they, upon this occaſion, condeſcended to practiſe. Deſcended from Anglo-Saxons, from Normans, from Danes; the inhabitants of England thus trace their anceſtors to Scandinavia, and to the north of Germany. The Saxon, the Gothic, and the Norſe are

ſo

ſo many different dialects of the language of thoſe anceſtors. The Saxon and the Gothic did not readily afford any thing to match Oſſian. But, Dr Piercy had the good fortune to diſcover ſome remains of Norſe or Iſlandic poetry in the collections of the Daniſh Antiquarians; and theſe he eagerly produced, as counterparts to Oſſian, which would ſhed a luſtre upon the poetical genius of the anceſtors of the Engliſh, not leſs ſplendid, than that with which the works of the ſon of Fingal had diſtinguiſhed the Scots or Caledonians of his age. But, luckleſs the diſcovery, and the publication! The Runic odes publiſhed by Dr Piercy, are much more uncouth and inartificial in their ſtructure, and delineate manners much more unamiable than thoſe exhibited in the works of Oſſian. The next ſhift was to deny the authenticity of the Gaelic poems. Johnſon, and the diſciples of the Johnſonian ſchool, Maſon, and almoſt every Engliſhman, except only Mr Gray who was the beſt qualified to judge in ſuch matters, have paſſionately declared theſe poems to be forgeries of the Tranſlator. But, theſe men decided upon prejudice, without enquiry; and ſome who ought to have known better, have been baſe or fooliſh enough to aid their clamour. In ſuch a caſe, the judgment of Gray, a poet and an antiquarian of ſingular eminence, a man of candid integrity, is of more value, if authorities

thorities were to be received for arguments, than the opinions of almoſt all thoſe together, who have attempted to transfer the laurel from the brow of Oſſian to that of his Tranſlator. The conteſt has been from time to time renewed, and is ſtill undecided. The man of taſte and ſenſibility, amid the mental luxury which he enjoys in the peruſal of theſe compoſitions, forgets the controverſy about their age and author. The hiſtorical enquirer confeſſeth their authority, as records of events, to be, at beſt, extremely doubtful. The philoſopher conſiders them as exhibiting moſt intereſting pictures of peculiar manners, from which the character of human nature receives new illuſtration.—If all the fragments of Gaelic poetry ſtill floating about among the Gaelic peaſantry of Scotland, ſhould be, anew, collected, and publiſhed with the moſt ſcrupulous preſervation of whatever tradition might contribute, and with a Latin Tranſlation accompanying the Gaelic Text; The antiquarian and the philoſopher would be much more edified, and froward incredulity would be, at once, confounded, and reduced to ſilence.

That theſe poems were not the compoſitions of the Tranſlators, or of any Gaelic or Engliſh bard of the preſent age, has been proved by evidence ſo ſatisfactory, that nothing but prejudice deciding without

out enquiry, or ſcepticiſm rejecting all the principles of human knowledge, can remain unconvinced of this truth.——

From what has been argued in the note concerning the ancient Caledonians, from what is here advanced, and from the tenor of the poems themſelves; it ſeems to follow, that theſe pieces of Gaelic poeſy belong no leſs to the other ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, than to the Scots.—1. The Caledonians of Tacitus, moſt probably the ſame as the Picts, have been proved to have been a mingled people, conſiſting of Celts, of Germans, and perhaps alſo of emigrants from the north of Ireland.—2. Among theſe, the Celtic language prevailed; for all thoſe names of places throughout Scotland, which have been moſt anciently impoſed, are undeniably Celtic: Thoſe which are Gothic, or of the languages directly ſprung from the Gothic, can be traced, without difficulty, to the Anglo-Saxon and the Daniſh,—and the periods of their impoſition, in the Norſe invaſions; as the French names among us may be traced to the æra of our intercourſe with France; Thoſe which are Latin and Italian, to their introduction by the Romiſh clergy: Nor have we any remains of a middle language between the Celtic on the one hand,—and the Anglo-Saxon and Daniſh, on the other; as that of the an-

cient Caledonians or Picts muſt undoubtedly have been, if chiefly Gothic in its origin. 3. As little have we any remains of German or Gothic manners eſtabliſhed in Scotland in a remote age: Some writers have firſt aſſerted the Caledonians to have been Goths, and have then, without farther proof, aſcribed to them, the manners of the Germans. 4. The Gaelic language and manners appear to have once prevailed much more extenſively over Scotland than at preſent, and to have been gradually contracted within their preſent limits by cauſes of which we can, with certainty, trace the operation. 5. In theſe poems, the manners and the language of the inhabitants of all parts of Scotland, of Strath-Clyde as well as of Caledonia, are deſcribed as of one character; and they are all introduced, ſpeaking the ſame language. Who can doubt, after maturely conſidering theſe particulars, that, however the Fingalian heroes might be among the anceſtors of the Scots, the fragments, yet remaining, of ancient Gaelic poeſy, are to be referred to all the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, in general,—or to the Strathclydian Britons, the Picts, and the Scots?

See Offian by Macpherſon: Smith's Gaelic Antiquities: Caledonian Bards: Gray's Letters: Johnſon's Journey, &c.—

NOTE H. Page 17.

IT is hardly poſſible to give any thing like a ſatisfactory account of the names of the PICTS and SCOTS.

Scots. Nothing is more capriciouſly managed, than the impoſition of proper names. Perſons, for inſtance, receive denominations from their perſonal qualities,—from good or bad fortune,—from actions or habits,—from parents, children, or other relations of conſanguinity or affinity,—from their country, and from things remarkable in their local ſituation, or among their poſſeſſions. The names of nations are derived in a manner equally capricious, from as great a variety of ſources. But, a ſtill greater cauſe of confuſion is, that nations diſtinguiſh themſelves commonly by different names at the ſame time: And from their neighbours receive as many different names as theſe have different languages. And then, however radically the ſame all theſe various names may be, the differences are yet conſiderable enough, to make it impoſſible for us, to convert them, with ſufficient readineſs, into one another. Confuſion and perplexity ariſe. One people are miſtaken for different nations: Sometimes real diſtinctions are loſt; at other times, ideal diſtinctions are created.

The attempts which have been made to explain the origin of the names of the Picts and Scots appear to have been hitherto fruitleſs. Had the name, *Picts*, originated from the Romans, thus impoſing upon the Caledonians, a denomination expreſſive of

the painted aſpect of their perſons; it would never have been aſſumed as a vernacular and domeſtic appellation, by the Picts themſelves. It is folly, to aſſert, that it was brought from Scandinavia, unleſs more ſatisfactory proof can be adduced, than the bare probability, that there was anciently a people in Scandinavia, whoſe name had ſome remote reſemblance to that of the Picts. The etymological attempts to trace this word to a Gaelic root are all alike vague and unſatisfactory. But, hath any of the lettered Romans traced the name of their city to its moſt remote origin? Know we the ultimate derivations of the various names of the tribes and ſtates of ancient Greece?—I think, that this much may, with ſome ſhare of confidence, be affirmed concerning the name in queſtion; 1. That *Caledonians* was a vague appellation, haſtily taken up by the Romans, from the information of the South Britons, applied without any diſtinct knowledge of the people to whom it was given, and to that people themſelves abſolutely unknown; 2. That as the Romans became better acquainted with the free natives of North Britain, they laid aſide an appellation of which they ſaw the uſe to be improper, and learned to denominate theſe people more correctly; 3. That the name, *Picts*, had probably been communicated from a family to a tribe, from one petty tribe, to a number of tribes combining into union, and

and at length, to all thoſe whom the Romans once named Caledonians;—whether the word were of German or of Celtic origin, or how it came to be originally aſſumed or applied, I preſume not to decide.

As obſcure is the origin of the name of *Scots*. Whether it be not in its firſt formation and primary meaning the ſame as that of *Scythians*; whether it may not have been impoſed, as expreſſive of ſome ſtriking national characteriſtic of theſe people; or whether derived from a leader, or from the name of ſome poſſeſſion, no diſcernment, or inveſtigation can now enable us to determine. The Romans are the firſt whom we know to have employed it in writing. It was next uſed by the Iriſh clergy, in their chronicles, and in the Lives of their Saints. From them was it adopted by the monkiſh writers of the Anglo-Saxons. We next find it aſſumed in the firſt written laws of the Scottiſh nation.—Ireland was the *Scotia* of moſt writers before the eighth century. Who could have then foretold, that this would become the excluſive name of a country at that time almoſt wholly occupied by Angles, Picts, and Britons?

The name of ATTACOTTI or ATTACOTS is certainly allied to that of *Scots*. But the principle of the alliance, or the origin of the difference we can-

not

not explain. I find, indeed, that the Gaelic adverb *Ath*, ſignifies *again;* and in compoſition, *Ath-ait, in the ſecond place:* May not *Ath-na-Schottich*, then, mean *other* or *ſecond Scots?* For, this was ſurely the natural appellation of a ſecond colony or diviſion of the ſame people who were named Scots; diſtinguiſhed by a later arrival, by ſeparation of territories, or by diſtinction of government. We ſay, in the ſame manner, *New* or *Old Town*, and uſe as diſcriminating epithets *Upper* and *Nether; Farther* and *Hither.*—No particle in the Gaelic language, is more frequently uſed in compoſition than *Ath.*—*Ath-na-Schottich* would be very eaſily and naturally Romanized into *Attacotti.*—But, I am too ſenſible of the deceitfulneſs of Etymological conjecture, to offer the above as an account in any meaſure ſatisfactory, of the origin of this national appellation. Only this I ſay, that I can find nothing better, upon the ſubject.

DALREUDENI was another name of the ancient Scots, as it has been Latinized by different writers. This is ſaid to be a compound of REUDA, the name of the leader who conducted the Scots from Ireland into Britain, with DAL, *a tract of level ground,*—or *the people by whom ſuch a tract is occupied.* The ſeat of the preſent burgh of *Campbelton*, was anciently named *Dalruadach;* as being the firſt ſeat of the *Dalreudeni.* There was anciently a *Dalaradia* in the north

north of Ireland, which comprehended the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt parts of the county of Antrim, ſince named Clanebois, with the whole of the preſent county of Down. As the *Dalreudeni* multiplied in their new ſeats, were ſubdivided into new tribes, and acquired a larger extent of territory; their firſt name fell into diſuſe; they became *Albanaich* and *Schottich.*

The path of Etymological conjecture is doubtful and ſlippery, yet ſeductive. I would willingly account, if I could, for the firſt application of the name of GAEL to the weſtern inhabitants of Scotland. In the Celtic language, *Gael* is underſtood to ſignify a *ſtranger.* Such were the Scots at their firſt immigration from Ireland. The native and prior inhabitants of the country would then, probably name them *Gael.* Hence *Ard-gael*, the promontory inhabited by theſe ſtrangers, altered in its paſſage into another language, to *Argyle; Gaelach*, or, as it was altered by the Angles, *Gaelweg*, *Galloway*, a diſtrict of theirs.

See Ammiani Marcellini Libros XX. XXVI. XXVII. ad paginas 279. 569. 625. ex Editione Boxhorn-Zuerii, Lug. Bat. 1632.—Bedæ Hiſt. Ecc. P. 41.—Buchanani Hiſt. Lib. II. P. 57.—Leſlæi, Lib. I. Pag. 51. &c. Romæ, 1675.—Joan. Major de Geſtis Scot. Folio 18. editione principe.—Baxt. Gloſs. Pag. 27. 194. 211. Edit. 2da, Lond. 1733.—Shaw's Gaelic Grammar and Dictionary, Edin. 1778.—Archdall's Monaſt. Hibern.—MSS. Account of the pariſh of Campbelton, communicated to me by Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

NOTE

## NOTE I. Page 20.

THE ſubject of the Saxon ſettlements in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Scotland is intereſting, but difficult. In their paſſage from the northern confines of Germany, ſome one or other of the many different fleets, or at leaſt of that immenſe number of veſſels in which they ſailed, muſt ſurely have touched on the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland. It was thinly inhabited. It preſented plains for the paſture of flocks and herds; foreſts and mountains for the chaſe. Whether ſhipwrecked in the voyage to the ſouthern ſhores of the iſland, repulſed in an attempt upon theſe ſhores, parted by diſſenſion from their countrymen, or even fixing themſelves here by preference; it ſeems hardly poſſible, that more or fewer of thoſe German adventurers ſhould not, in this period, have ſcattered themſelves between the Tweed, and the Murray Frith. Hiſtory accords with this probability of circumſtances: and Nennius tells us, as is related from him, in the Text, that Octo and Ebeſſa formed an eſtabliſhment in the ſouth eaſt parts of Scotland; although he does not indeed inform us, as to what might be the preciſe extent of ſuch an eſtabliſhment.

See Nennium, apud Gale Scriptores Anglican.

NOTE

NOTE K. Page 24.

The Chriſtian revelation, made known to the world, at a period when the intellectual and the moral improvement of man had attained the higheſt pitch to which it could well be raiſed, without ſupernatural aid, was more remarkable for nothing than for the rapidity with which it was propagated through the wide extent of the Roman Empire. In the ſecond century, it was preached in Britain. The famous Saint Alban was beheaded in the beginning of the fourth. Soon after this period, Palladius and Patrick became the Apoſtles of the Iriſh. The Iriſh had been generally converted, at leaſt in the northern parts of the iſland; when Columba came into the weſtern parts of Scotland, about the middle of the ſixth century, founded the famous monaſtery of Hyona, and converted the Scots, and the more northern of the Picts. It ſhould ſeem, that the Britons were either indiſpoſed, or precluded by the conſtant hoſtilities between them and the Scots, from attempting to ſoften the ferocity of their invaders, by converting them to Chriſtianity.

Columba was more pious, than learned; if we may truſt the ſtories of his life written by his diſciples. But, what would learning or luminous reaſon have availed, to eſtabliſh the power of religion, among barbarians? Prophecies uttered with an im-

poſing confidence which tended to aid their accompliſhment; miracles in which the tricks of the juggler were practiſed in the name of God, not, as now a days, by the pretended aſſiſtance of the Devil; peculiarities of dreſs and carriage; habits of life apparently ſanctified; ſplendid promiſes, to allure; awful threatenings, to terrify;—Theſe were the arts which Columba employed; and theſe are aſſuredly the fitteſt arts for the converſion of Barbarians. The firſt chapel in Hyona, was an heath-covered hut. The accommodations to be there obtained, were ſo few as to leave to the ſaint, ſufficient room for the exerciſe of mortification and abſtinence. Even before his death, chriſtianity had given a fairer colour to the manners, and a gentler tone to the ſpirit of the tribes which he converted. The religion of Jeſus had here declined but little from its native purity; it was ſtill in the hands of honeſt faith or ſimple enthuſiaſm; nor had it, as yet, been made, in any conſiderable degree the engine of avarice and ambition, or the pandar of ſenſuality.

Bedæ Hiſt. Eccles. Lib. I. Cap. 4. 7. 13. Lib. III. Cap. 4.—Sti Columbæ Vita ab Adamnano et Cumminio ſcripta, in *Vitis Sanctorum a J. Pinkerton editis:* Buchanani Hiſt. in Libro V.—Leſlæi de Rebus Geſtis. Scot. Lib. IV. ſub Aidano, &c.

## NOTE L. Page 26.

THE inhabitants of Galloway were a mixed race of Scots or rather Attacots and Britons; for the poſterity

poſterity of the Attacotti ſtill inhabited the coaſts contiguous to Ireland; and the Britons poſſeſſed thoſe parts which lie adjacent to Clydeſdale and to Cumberland. The conjecture, that the name of *Gaelaich* was impoſed upon the Attacotti, by the old Britons of the country, has been already ſtated. The government of the Britons in general had been looſe, uncertain, and irregular, ever ſince the departure of the Romans. The inhabitants of Galloway might acknowledge ſome dependence on the ſovereign of Strath-Clyde; but, it is rather probable, that they were governed by chieftains of their own. They were the eaſier ſubdued; for diſunion is always weakneſs.

Monuments the moſt certain, of the Anglo-Saxon conqueſts and eſtabliſhments, remain, even hitherto, in Galloway. *Motes* are extremely numerous through all that province. *Camps* in the Anglo-Saxon faſhion are not unfrequent. But, what is chiefly remarkable, and at the ſame time, moſt unequivocal, is, that the ſeats here occupied by the Angles, while Galloway was ſubject to the Northumbrian ſway, are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of INGLESTONS. Of theſe *Ingleſtons* there is one in almoſt every pariſh along the coaſt, and commonly for fourteen or twenty miles backwards into the interior country. Near each *Ingleſton* is uſu-

ally a BOORLAND. There are ſeveral CEORLETONS. —In an iſlet in the river Dee which falls into the Solway frith,—or the Vergivian ſea,—at Kirkcudbright, is an ancient caſtle in the Norman faſhion, and now ruinous, of which the name is THRIEVE-caſtle. Adjacent, upon the weſtern bank of the river, is a farm named THRIEVE-GRANGE. This caſtle, remarkable in the hiſtory of Lower Galloway, is, however, much more ancient than any record in which it is mentioned. No tradition of the neighbourhood explains the origin of its name. No plauſible account of this has been, as yet ſuggeſted. Now, I cannot help conjecturing, that this caſtle, if not itſelf more ancient than the thirteenth or the twelfth century, ſtands moſt probably on the ſite of a more ancient caſtle, coeval with the reigns of the Northumbrian Edwin or Oſwald, and the ſeat of the RIEVE, or inferior Anglo-Saxon governor of the country. The original meaning of GRANGE, is *farm*: and THRIEVE-GRANGE may have been a poſſeſſion of the RIEVE who reſided in the caſtle. The Anglo-Saxon language has ever ſince prevailed in this country. Several of the ancient Anglo-Saxon arts and modes of life ſtill ſubſiſt here in all their primitive ſimplicity. Through all thoſe parts of the country which lie contiguous to the ſea-coaſt, the names of places are generally Anglo-Saxon. Bede, too, an unexceptionable authority, relates, that

that even in his time, the city of Whithern was in the poſſeſſion of his countrymen. Kirkcudbright in Lower Galloway appears to have been founded by the Anglo-Saxons, in honour of their illuſtrious St Cuthbert of Lindisfarn.

Bedæ Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, in Lib III. capite 4to. &c.

## Note M. Page 31.

It appears evident from the whole tenor of the early hiſtory of the Scots and the Picts, that the former, from their firſt ſettlement in the iſland, continued, with ſome viciſſitudes indeed, to extend their territories to the ſouth, the north, and the eaſt, till the Pictiſh name was, at laſt, ſwallowed up in theirs. The expeditions of the Picts into Ireland, are recorded in the Iriſh chronicles. The Pictiſh chronicle, the regiſter of St Andrews, and the annals of Ulſter mention Abernethy, Forteviot, and Lochleven, as, in this period, the chief ſeats of the Pictiſh government.—Dunolly might be of earlier erection than the æra of the Daniſh invaſions, and might yet receive its preſent name from a Daniſh Olave.—It ſeems not improbable that the city of Alclyde, Balclutha, Arclyde, or Dunbritton, (for it has received all theſe different names) might anciently ſtand upon the rock, upon which only the caſtle is now ſeated.—The ſtate of Galloway has been already explained.—However the view of the

diviſion

diviſion and poſſeſſion of Scotland in the middle of the ſeventh century, which has been exhibited here and in the correſponding paragraphs in the Text, may differ from the accounts of the ſame topography that are given by other modern enquirers into the antiquities of the Scottiſh hiſtory; It is, notwithſtanding, founded upon the faireſt, weightieſt, moſt direct, and moſt unequivocal evidence which the records of that age afford, and confirmed, by monuments of which the ravages of time have not yet deprived us.

Annals of Ulſter.—Regiſt. Sti. And.—Chron. Pict.—Bed. H. E. &c.

* Note. Page 39.

The correſpondence of Charlemagne with Eochoid has been conſidered by ſome of the moſt induſtrious and intelligent enquirers, as one of the fables of our hiſtory. But, I think, that the probability is on the ſide of its truth.

Charlemagne's ambition and religious zeal prompted him to extend his conqueſts over a great part of Europe: And after he had thus acquired an extenſive empire, a wiſe policy naturally induced him to pay attention to the condition and character of all the ſurrounding ſtates, whoſe territories bordered upon his, or lay adjacent to them.

Nay,

Nay, he was diſtinguiſhed by a ſingular ſpirit of curioſity, and an uncommon ardour for knowledge; principles which appear to have excited him, even more than policy, to enquire after the circumſtances and manners of remote nations. There was an intercourſe of epiſtles, embaſſies, and mutual preſents between the great emperor of the Franks, and Haroun Alraſchid, the moſt illuſtrious of the Caliphs of Bagdad, the ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

The propagation of Chriſtianity, and the extended authority of the Roman Pontiff had, by this time, eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of correſpondence, of arts, of ſcience, of eccleſiaſtical government, which pervaded and embraced all Europe, and of which Rome was the centre. Charlemagne, exalted to the civil and military pre-eminence in Europe, while he confirmed and conſolidated this ſyſtem, naturally and unavoidably profited by its exiſtence. Nay, the inferior princes of Europe were connected with the court of Rome, and ſhared in the correſpondence and intercourſe of the clergy of their reſpective ſtates. About this period, too, the inſtitutions of Columba had become famous throughout Europe. His diſciples went abroad into Germany, France, and Italy; where they were received and honoured, as men of extraordinary piety and wiſdom. The monaſtery of Hyona was, at this time, the moſt famous, perhaps,

haps, in Europe. Theſe Hebudian monks ſhed a luſtre upon the nation to which they belonged. Would it not rather have been ſurprizing, then, if an Emperor of the character of Charlemagne had *not* ſought a correſpondence with the prince within whoſe dominions was the moſt diſtinguiſhed monaſtic ſeminary in the Weſt?

Alcuin, either a Northumbrian or a Scot, not unacquainted, certainly, with the diſcipline of Columba,—and other eccleſiaſtics, probably, of the ſame religious order, and from the ſame country, were, at this very time, in Charlemagne's court. Alcuin has related, that Charlemagne receiving accounts of the miſerable, diſorderly condition of the Northumbrians, meditated an expedition againſt them, from which he was diverted only by the earneſt intreaties of his preceptor. It is equally probable, that he might be, in the ſame manner, informed concerning the affairs of the Scots, and perſuaded to ſolicit the friendly correſpondence of their monarch.

When to theſe conſiderations, we add the weight of the teſtimony upon which the event in queſtion is related in our hiſtory; We ſhall poſſibly be induced to pronounce the evidence ſtrongly probable.

But,

But, that the formalities of a treaty took place between Eochoid and Charlemagne, I ſee no good grounds for aſſerting.

See the *Remarks* of the late Lord Hailes on this ſubject in the Scottiſh Hiſtory; as alſo the *Enquiries* of Father Innes and Mr Pinkerton.

## NOTE N. Page 39.

THE circumſtances of the union of the Scots with the Picts have been variouſly repreſented. I ſhall ſtate the arguments upon which the view exhibited in the Text, has been adopted. It conſiſts of two parts; That, the two nations were united, after a ſeries of wars, without the extermination of any one of them; And that, the peculiar arts and manners of the Picts have been loſt, only becauſe they were, before this period, almoſt undiſtinguiſhably aſſimilated to thoſe of the Scots, on the one hand, and to thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, on the other.

I. As to the firſt of theſe aſſertions; That the Picts, although ſubdued by the Scots, were only united with them, not exterminated,—may be eaſily made extremely probable.

The contrary fact is alledged only by Fordun; and by the implicit copiers of his fables.

Similar aſſertions have been made concerning the extirpation of the Roman inhabitants of Gaul by their Frankiſh conquerors, and of the ancient Britons, by the Anglo-Saxons. But, in both theſe inſtances, inveſtigation has detected the abſurd falſity of the aſſertions.

Inſtances of the extermination of a conquered people are extremely rare in the hiſtory of mankind. Such inſtances have never occurred, except in the caſe of ſavages, few in number, ſcattered over a vaſt territory, hardly conſcious of any ſentiments, but thoſe of national reſentment, and living only in deeds of hatred;—of a nation conſiderably enlightened and refined, conquering another ſo inferior in rational improvement, as to appear to be ſcarcely fit for the ſervices of ſlavery, and to have no better right to the mercy of humanity, than the moſt worthleſs or noxious of the inferior animals;—or of a people collected within the walls of one or two cities, and reſolved to periſh all among the ruins, rather than ſurvive the liberty of their country.—Neither the Scots, nor the Picts were in a condition reſembling any of theſe.

Theſe two petty nations, ſpeaking only different dialects of the ſame language; with hardly any diverſities of cuſtoms, manners, or government; bordering

dering upon one another, for the greater part of their confines; oftener allied againſt the common enemies of both, than at war between themſelves; and unavoidably connected by intermarriages, and by the ties of mutual hoſpitality;—Were already ſo much one, even before their union, that the Picts could not have been exterminated, without the equally direct deſtruction of a great many of the Scots.

The monuments of Pictiſh antiquity have not been more generally deſtroyed, than thoſe of the contemporary period of the hiſtory of the Scots. But, if theſe laſt had relentleſsly extirpated their vanquiſhed rivals; it is probable, that they would have erazed, with the ſame fury whatever might have preſerved the memory of the hated race.

The ſtory of the extermination of the Picts appears to have been fabricated by ignorant and lying monks of the eleventh or twelfth century; who fancied themſelves enabled by virtue of their prieſtly illumination, to account for every thing; and in hiſtory, as in religion, choſe rather to invent at random, than to enquire.

Thoſe appearances which to ſubſequent obſervers, more inquiſitive and diſcerning than the monks, have ſeemed to countenance the tale of the maſſacre

of one half of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, may now be ſatisfactorily explained, without the aid of a ſuppoſition ſo improbable.

II. No fact in a period of hiſtory, obſcure and deficient in records, can be better eſtabliſhed, than that which is above aſſerted concerning the uniformity of the manners of the Picts with thoſe of the Scots, on the one hand, and with thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, on the other.

Thoſe names of places which appear to have been the earlieſt impoſed, are, through all the extent of the ancient Pictiſh dominions, univerſally Celtic; which argues, that the people by whom they were originally uſed, muſt have ſpoken the language of the ancient Scots. The ſame funereal urns of half-burnt earth; the ſame graves protected on all ſides by oblong flat ſtones; the ſame ſacred circles, once the temples of Druidic worſhip, are common alike in Pictiſh, as in Scottiſh Caledonia. The fragments remaining of Gaelic poeſy, diſtinguiſh not the manners of the Picts from thoſe of the Scots. If the language now ſpoken on the eaſtern coaſts of Scotland differ from that of the weſtern; we know certainly, that this difference is not ſo old as the ancient rivalry between the two nations by which theſe coaſts were reſpectively inhabited.

It

It was impoſſible, that tribes ſimple and rude as the Scots and Picts, ſhould have uſed other than different dialects of the ſame language. Languages, in their origin, conſiſt ſolely of the names of *material ſubſtances*, of *events*, of *intentions*. Thoſe delicate diſtinctions of meaning, for the expreſſion of which, the variations of inflexion; and the aid of words ſignificant only in conſtruction, are employed,—are too ſhadowy and refined for the perception of ſavages who have juſt begun to commune by vocal ſigns. Languages have, in this ſtate, no peculiarities of idiom or analogy. They are ſo many ſeparate collections of correſpondent words. Of theſe, any particular word or words may belong, as well to this language, as to that. They are diſtinguiſhed as belonging to one or to another, only by the place in which we find them, not by any qualities in themſelves. They are infants whoſe geniuſes and characters are, as yet unformed. Place any two tribes, whoſe languages are only thus diſcriminated, in contiguous ſituations; ſubject them to the ſame influence of external nature; let them meet in war, and aſſociate in peaceful intercourſe: The language of each will become familiar to the other: the ſcantineſs of each language will be ſupplied out of the other; they will inſenſibly coaleſce into one; they will be united, in their progreſs under one common analogy; and their idioms will be almoſt

almoſt all in common. This I believe to be the outline of the hiſtory of the firſt progreſs of every language that has attained to any conſiderable copiouſneſs and regularity. If there was ever any diverſity of the languages of the Scots and the Picts: they muſt, in this manner, have become one. The change was unavoidable.

Concerning arts and manners, the very ſame reaſoning is to be uſed. The arts and manners of ſavages being ſimple and natural, are, under the ſame external circumſtances, almoſt invariably the ſame. Mutual intercourſe ſoon wears off any ſlight peculiarities by which ſuch ſavage tribes may, at any time happen to be diſtinguiſhed. Although we had the direct teſtimony of no monument or record; we might, nevertheleſs, infer from the general analogy of the qualities and the circumſtances of mankind, that, the arts and manners, as well as the language of the ancient Picts and Scots, muſt have been indiſcriminately common to both.

It is no leſs certain, that the manners of the ſouthern Picts were, in the progreſs of their hiſtory, aſſimilated, in a great meaſure, to thoſe of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. No fact in hiſtory can be more indubitably eſtabliſhed, than that, the Northumbrians extended their conqueſts, at one period, over

over almoſt all Pictland. The Picts became their tributaries. The Anglo-Saxons eſtabliſhed garriſons in Pictland, ſent officers to collect the ſtipulated tribute, and even appropriated a part of the Pictiſh lands. At a ſubſequent period, the Picts ſhared in the partition of the Northumbrian dominions; and took poſſeſſion of the country between the Forth and the Tweed, without extirpating its Anglian inhabitants. After the Pictiſh clergy had begun to abjure thoſe heretical opinions and obſervances which had formerly held them in ſeparation from the church of Rome; *they* alſo aided the progreſs of Anglian manners through Pictland. By theſe means, the ſouthern Picts were, in a great meaſure, incorporated with the northern Anglo-Saxons. The laws, manners, cuſtoms, and language of theſe latter people were not only eſtabliſhed permanently in the country between the Tweed and the Forth, but were carried through the diſtrict between the Forth and the Tweed, and even partially extended northwards through Angus-ſhire.

It is upon theſe grounds, I have maintained, that the Scots only ſubdued, but did not exterminate the Picts: and that the language and manners of the Picts, in ſo far as they were peculiar, have diſappeared only by being gradually loſt in thoſe of the Scots,

Scots, on the one hand, in thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, on the other.

See Fordun. Buchanan. Boeth. Major. Leſl. Chron. et Hiſt. ſub Kennetho III: the Enquiries of Innes and Pinkerton: Bedæ Hiſt. &c.

## NOTE O. Page 44.

THE proofs of the eſtabliſhment of Daniſh coloniſts in Moray in Scotland, as in Northumberland, in England, are ſtrong and concluſive.

The ſituation of this diſtrict of Scotland naturally invited the deſcents of the Norſe, or Daniſh pirates. It ſeems indeed impoſſible, that, in their expeditions along the eaſtern coaſts of Britain, they ſhould not have often landed on the ſhores of the Moray Frith. It was more convenient to retire hither in the winter-months, than to return home, by a perilous navigation, to the diſtant havens of Scandinavia.

Our ancient hiſtorians and chroniclers ſpeak univerſally of the Danes and Norwegians invading Moray; paſſing the winter here, combatting, in this territory, the Scottiſh monarchs, with various ſucceſs; ſubmitting after defeat; rebelling; inviting the aid of their countrymen; ever turbulent, diſorderly, diſloyal.

The diſtrict of Moray ſtill exhibits various monuments of Daniſh origin. The language ſpoken in that

that diſtrict, has, ever ſince, been, in a good meaſure, Daniſh. The inhabitants of Moray, till even within the preſent century, were regarded by the Scots of the circumjacent country, as a ſeparate and hoſtile race; and a prædatory incurſion into Moray was conceived to be no violation of the general peace, no infraction of the laws. The traditions of the country ſtill concur with other circumſtances in repreſenting ſome part of the remote progenitors of its preſent inhabitants to have been Danes.

See Chron. Pict.—Fordun.—Buchanan. in Libro VI. ſub regibus Conſt. & Kenn.—Majoris Hiſt. paſſim.—Statiſt. Account, I. 267. 469. II. 541. III. 56. 285 485. IV. 51. 109. V. 2. 431. VI. 19.—See alſo Shaw's Hiſt. of Moray.

## Note P. Page 44.

Upon the arrival of Columba and his pious companions in the Hebudæ, Hyona was aſſigned to them for a place of reſidence, by the petty prince to whom they firſt ſucceſsfully addreſſed themſelves. They ſoon reared a ruſtic chapel, and prepared cells or huts to ſhelter them. As the number of converts was increaſed, theſe enriched their ſpiritual inſtructors by the eager offering of ſuch wealth as they had to beſtow. The induſtry of the *Keldees*, more ingenious, and directed to their accomodation with more earneſt perſeverance than was that of the ruder laity about them, gradually improved the comforts of

their condition. The ſacred buildings were enlarged, and began to be inveſted with ſome degree of comparative magnificence. At length, the diſciples of Columba, the poſſeſſors of Hyona, viſited the continent, where they ſaw religion arrayed in ceremonies more cumbrous and ſplendid, and accommodated with palaces the moſt ſtately that Gothic architecture could conſtruct. Returning, they brought Italian artiſts into theſe remote regions. The lapideous treaſures of the Hebudæ afforded noble materials for the builder. A cathedral worthy of the ſanctity of Hyona ſoon aroſe. Other edifices were added. The kings of Scots anxiouſly deſired that their aſhes might be interred in this venerable ſeat of religion. Hyona was, for a while, in ſome meaſure, the capital of the Scottiſh monarchy; for, the Abbot of Hyona and his monks were reſpected above the kings; and their wiſdom and inſpiration were devoutly conſulted, upon every extraordinary occaſion. Even after another ſeat for the diſciples of Columba had been eſtabliſhed at Dunkeld, the parent-monaſtery ſtill retained its ancient honours. In the invaſions of the Weſtern Iſles by the Pagans of Scandinavia, Hyona was plundered; its monks maſſacred; its books and other ſacred treaſures diſperſed or deſtroyed; its buildings burnt or defaced. But, as they ſubdued, and ſettled in, theſe Iſles, the Scanians were converted to Chriſtianity. Hy-

ona

ma mitigated the ferocity of its conquerors; and ts dignity and ſplendour were, by degrees, reſto-ed. It became the favourite burial-place of the Norſe ſovereigns of theſe iſles, as it had formerly een, and ſtill continued to be, of the kings of Scot-and. But, it ſeems not to have ever, after this pe-riod, regained the full ſplendour in which it exiſted immediately before the Norſe invaſions.

See Chronica Pict. Manniæ, Forduni, and the MSS. Account of Campbelton above quoted, &c.

## NOTE Q. Page 45.

DUNKELD became the ſecond ſeat of the diſciples of Columba. I ſhould ſuppoſe, that the monaſtery of Dunkeld might be, at firſt, eſtabliſhed with a view chiefly to the religious inſtruction of the Picts. If *Keldees* were, before this time, a denomination applied to theſe monks of the order of Columba; the place might perhaps be named *Dunkeldee* from its new poſſeſſors. At leaſt, this ſeems not more unlikely than the other accounts of the etymology of the name. While Hyona was waſted and occu-pied by the Norwegians and Danes, Dunkeld roſe to rival that ancient religious ſeminary. From this period, until after the inſtitution of the Biſhopric of St Andrews, Dunkeld continued to be the principal ſeat of the clergy in Scotland.

Chronica, ut ſupra.

### Note R. Page 45.

St Andrew's was the next, in the order of the inſtitution, of the religious eſtabliſhments of Scotland. Its regiſters are too little worthy of faith, to enable to fix the period, at which its firſt monaſteries were founded, or its biſhopric erected. However, neither the one nor the other can have taken place, prior to the eighth, or perhaps even the ninth century. It muſt have been, while Abernethy was the capital ſeat of the Pictiſh monarchy, that a ſeat was firſt aſſigned to the Clergy at St Andrews. The inſtitution of the biſhopric cannot have been earlier than the reconciliation of the Scottiſh to the Romiſh Church.

See the Regiſter of St Andrews, with the other chronicles, which have been chiefly uſed in this Work.

### Note *on the* VITRIFIED FORTS.

I. These Vitrified Forts have not been yet long obſerved, as remarkable monuments of the arts of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland. The ſites of ſuch as have been obſerved, are, for the greater part, on eminences, and on the ſummits of high hills. Their figure is always ſome modification of the circle; their extents, various; their condition, as to integrity of ſtructure, broken, and dilapidated, ſunk, in many places, in the earth, and overgrown with graſs. They have been diſcovered on the eaſtern,

tern, and on the weſtern coaſts of Scotland; but ſeldom or never yet within the interior country.

II. Various opinions have been propoſed concerning the origin and the deſign of theſe ſingular ſtructures. It has been ſaid;

That, they are works of the ancient Caledonians, in their rudeſt ſtate; acquainted with fuſible, yet without knowledge of calcinable ſtones; wonderfully ſkilled in the application of the powers of fire, but deſtitute of almoſt every art of life:

That, they are volcanic products; their ſeats, *craters*, of which the internal fires have long been waſted, the depths filled up, the lava diſperſed, and the appearance, as it ſhould ſeem, almoſt, wholly changed by ſubſequent and unaccountable convulſions:

That, they are merely careleſs accumulations of ſtones which have been raiſed, in clearing the ground, and have ſuffered accidental fuſion:

That, they are remains of rude ſtructures, conſiſting, in their perfect ſtate, of wood partly, and partly of ſtones, heaped together almoſt without art; thus conſtructed at a period more remote than

the

the firſt immigration of the ancient Caledonians into Britain,—more remote than the firſt introduction of Druidiſm into this part of the iſland; and, (as was unavoidable, in the many viciſſitudes of that vaſt length of years which has elapſed ſince their erection), burnt down amid the ravages of war, and vitrified by the hoſtile conflagration.

I have ſaid, in the Text, that theſe ſtructures were the works of the Norſe invaders who ravaged theſe coaſts in the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth centuries; not denying that wood and looſe ſtones might be uſed in their conſtruction, and that they might be vitrified chiefly in being burnt down by beſiegers.

III. I ſhall ſtate my reaſons for my opinion; avoiding, as much as poſſible, all controverſy with thoſe who have declared, that they think differently. It may be reſolved into two parts,—1. That the vitrified forts were the works of the Danes and Norwegians; and, 2. That, they have been vitrified by fire accidentally applied.

Since it is not fair reaſoning, to throw back to a more remote period, any event of which the date cannot be directly and preciſely aſcertained; while it may be, with equal propability of circumſtances, referred

referred to a later: The conſtruction of theſe works muſt not be aſſigned to an age prior to that of the Druids: unleſs it ſhall appear more improbable, that they might be reared in a ſubſequent period. Yet, that they cannot be the works of the ancient Caledonians, appears certain; for, no fact mentioned by Roman or Grecian writers, no deſcription in ancient Gaelic poetry, no remaining monument indubitably Caledonian, affords the ſlighteſt reaſon to perſuade us,—that the Caledonians had any other places of ſhelter,—than caves, huts in which mud, turf, and wood were very inartificially employed, rude palliſades of wood and earth, with their natural marſhes, foreſts, hills, and thickets. The buildings even of the ſimpleſt edifices of ſtone is not an obvious invention for ſavages. Looſe ſtones are not frequent; they want ſkill and induſtry, to quarry out the rock. Altars, and temples, with idol-forms, are always the firſt works of naſcent architecture and ſculpture. How, then, ſhould the ancient Caledonians have erected fortreſſes which, in the wild, impervious ſtate of their country, they little needed; while the only temples of their ſuperſtition were circles of oblong ſtones, vertically diſpoſed?

It is indeed, poſſible, that, after the Romans had invaded them;—when they had ſeen ſo much of Roman

Roman architecture, as to know, that large buildings of a determinate form might be conſtructed of ſtone;—yet not enough to teach them to build with a ſkilful knowledge of the moſt advantageous form, poſition, inſtruments, materials, and ſtructure:—That, at this period, they might raiſe ſome ſuch edifices, in which their own practice of building, might be conjoined with what appeared to them to be the Roman practice. Thus might buildings without mortar be raiſed: and that theſe might be afterwards burnt down, ſo as to ſuffer vitrification in the burning,—is eaſily conceived. But, the Romans hardly ever alarmed the ſecurity of the Caledonians, on thoſe quarters on which the remains of the vitrified forts are now diſcovered. Nor have theſe forts any mixed reſemblance of Caledonian and of Roman art. Nay, if the Caledonians had learned to imitate in any conſiderable degree, the military maſonry and architecture of the Romans; we ſhould ſurely have received ſome hints concerning ſuch imitation from Roman, or from monkiſh writers. But, a ſavage is the moſt indocile of animals. He diſdains to adopt the arts of thoſe who are more ingenious and induſtrious than himſelf. If he learn any thing from them, it is unintentionally; if he imitate them, it is unconſciouſly. One ſavage is like another: One civilized perſon will ſoon become like another; but it is long, very long before

before any conſiderable approximation can take place between a ſavage, and a civilized perſon.

As to the Anglo-Saxons: we know well, that their edifices, whether civil or military, differed ſo entirely from theſe vitrified forts; that the ancient inhabitants of the Scottiſh coaſts cannot have learned from them to conſtruct ſuch places of defence.

Are theſe remains, then, indeed Daniſh? On ſuch ſites were the ancient Danes and Norwegians accuſtomed to erect their fortreſſes. Nearly ſimilar is the outline of the Daniſh camps. Only upon thoſe coaſts which were often viſited by the Danes, have our vitrified forts been diſcovered. If circles ſeemingly Druidical ſtand ſometimes near the incloſure of theſe forts; the Danes and Norwegians were Pagans, for a conſiderable time after their firſt deſcents upon the Britiſh coaſts; and we learn as well from their own hiſtorians, as from the alluſions to their worſhip, in the poems of Oſſian, that they had their ſacred circles, equally with the Caledonians and Britons. They were, at that period, too, ſufficiently unſkilful in architecture, to rear ſtructures thus rude. We know certainly, that they were, as yet, ſtrangers in general, to the uſe of mortar. Nor, let it be objected, that, if of a period ſo late as the eighth or the the ninth century, theſe forts could not be already

ſo ruinous, and ſo conſiderably dilapidated as they now appear. It is true, that a few of the moſt ſtupendous works of architecture have ſurvived for many centuries among the wrecks of time: The pyramids of Egypt, the column of Severus at Alexandria, the pillars and porticoes of Palmyra, ſome fragments of the grandeur of ancient Athens, and one or two of the temples of old Rome, now conſecrated to the worſhip of the true God, may ſtill diſplay the noble characteriſtics of one of the ſublimeſt arts of civilized antiquity. But, where are now the works which the Romans erected in Provincial Britain? Their walls, caſtles, temples, palaces, arches, columns?—With extreme difficulty, have one or two of the foundations of the old Anglo-Saxon caſtles been diſtinguiſhed among circumjacent knolls and hillocks. Not a caſtle of thoſe which were erected by the Normans, upon their firſt ſettlement in Britain, is now ſtanding and habitable, unleſs perhaps in conſequence of having received numberleſs reparations. Had it not been for the accident of their vitrification; the vitrified forts, the ſubject of the preſent enquiry, muſt, ere now have ſhared the fate of our other edifices of the eighth and the ninth centuries.

Probability ſeems to be all that can well be obtained in the preſent caſe: And I think that theſe arguments

ments have rendered it much more probable that our Vitrified Forts are the works of the Danes and Norwegians, than of the Picts, the Scots, or any more ancient inhabitants of North Britain; and of the eighth and the ninth centuries, rather than of any other period in our hiſtory. That they are the works of a *later* period has not been pretended by any perſon who has turned his attention upon this ſubject.

II. * It cannot be difficult to prove, that theſe are really *forts*, and that their *vitrification* has been accidental.

The vitrified matter, differs, in its diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, from volcanic products. The ſites have nothing of the appearance of volcanic *craters* choaked up. The neighbourhood bears no marks of ancient volcanic eruptions. Theſe vitrifications have not, then, been produced by fires raging in the bowels of the mountains on which they are now ſeen.

It is abſurd to ſay, that, they are accidental agglomerations of ſtones, thrown together, in clearing the ground. The ground about their ſites has no appearance of having ever been cleared, except per-



* I believe it would have been a wiſer arrangement, if the order of the two heads had been reverſed.

haps very lately, for the purpoſes of either agriculture or paſturage.

That fire was intentionally employed for cementing them, is a propoſition too ridiculous to require refutation.

It remains, then, moſt probable, that they have been rudely reared of ſtones, with perhaps earth and wood, without mortar, and without regular maſonry. Their ſituation and extent ſhew them to have been intended as places of defence. The ſtones employed have happened to be of a fuſible character. Fires have been kindled within perhaps, to afford light and warmth to the occupants; or as ſignals to ſpread the alarm of war over the country. They have been beſieged; taken and retaken by turns; and upon every ſuch occaſion, the beſiegers, wanting artillery and military engines, have been obliged to diſlodge or deſtroy the beſieged by the application of fire.

Here, too, as before, it is probability, not certainty, to which we attain. But, the account here given, is undeniably the moſt probable one.

Yet, it is not impoſſible, that I may be repreſented as having given this account of the matter, ſolely through

through ignorance.—But, I would only intreat the reader who ſhall hear this objection offered, to read the accounts of others in their own words, and to view the vitrifications, before he proceed to decide againſt me.

I have the more earneſtly reaſoned againſt the idea of referring theſe *vitrifications*, in their origin, to a period prior to that of any other monument of our hiſtory; becauſe I have obſerved too partial a propenſity among our late enquirers into Antiquities, to refer every thing which they cannot explain, back to an age prior to the commencement of our received chronology. Mr Ledwich, the late Mr Bailli of Paris, and almoſt, too, the very Learned and Ingenious author of this opinion which I preſume to oppoſe, in reſpect to the extreme antiquity of our vitrified Forts, have ſhewn a diſpoſition to refer productions of human *art* to an æra prior to the Scripture-date of the preſent arrangement of *terreſtrial nature*. I am ready to do homage to the abilities of theſe illuſtrious men. But, with me it ſhall ever be a principle in reſearches of this kind, *to refer events of doubtful date to the lateſt period, at which it is equally probable, that they might happen:* And ſince all parts of the hiſtory and doctrines of our holy religion hang ſo cloſely together, that if one be pulled down, the reſt muſt totter to their fall; ſhould we not beware of

even

even *indirectly* aſſailing the beſt hopes of the poor, the friendleſs, the ſolitary! without which this life were but a feveriſh dream!

See a pamphlet on this ſubject, by Mr John Williams; Several eſſays and obſervations in the Archælogia Britannica, by Dr J. Anderſon, the Hon. D. Barrington, R. Riddel Eſq. and others: As alſo a valuable eſſay on the ſame ſubject by A. F. Tytler Eſq. Advocate, in the 2nd vol. Phil. Tranſ. Edin.

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ERRATA IN THE FIRST BOOK.

Page 25. In the third line from the end of the firſt paragraph, *dele* THEY.

Page 34. In the fourth line of the ſecond paragraph, for EGBERT, read EGFRID; and in the fifth line of the ſame paragraph, for EGBERT'S, read EGFRID'S.

Again, in the middle of page 37. for EGBERT, read EGFRID; and in the tenth line under, for THE SECOND EGBERT, read ſimply EGBERT.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

## BOOK FIRST:

*IN TWO SECTIONS;*

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF

THE ROMANS, THE CALEDONIANS, THE BRITONS, THE PICTS, THE SCOTS, THE ANGLO-SAXONS, AND THE DANES, IN *SCOTLAND.*

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE

ACCESSION OF KING MALCOLM CANMORE.

WITH NOTES.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

## BOOK II.

### SECTION I.—CHAP. I.

### *MALCOLM* III.

WHILE Lulac was abandoned and ſlain in Strathbogy; Malcolm had already mounted the throne of his fathers. He was ſolemnly crowned King of the Scots, at Scone, on the twenty-fifth of April, in the year one thouſand and fifty-ſeven. The Picts, and the Britons of Strathclyde were now, without diſtinction, confounded under the ſame common name, with their conquerors. *Excepting* only Galloway, the Hebudæ, with ſome part of Argyleſhire; the iſles of Shetland and Orkney, with ſome contiguous diſtricts of the Scottiſh main land; Malcolm's dominion was thus eſtabliſhed over the *whole* extent of the preſent Scotland; in addition to the principality of Cumbria, which, he continued to hold in feudal tenure *.

A. D. 1057.

Acceſſion of Malcolm, and extent of his dominions.



* Fordun. S. Chron. Edit. Goodall, Lib. V. Cap. 9:—Major. de Geſtis, Scot. L. III. C. 5:—Buchanan. Hiſt. in L. VII:—Leſlæi de Reb. Geſt. Scot. Lib. VI. ſub initio.

Sect. 1. Chap. 1.

He rewards his friends.

The fidelity of Malcolm's friends and followers was confirmed by the prudent generosity with which he distributed among them, the forfeited possessions of the family and adherents of Macbeth and Lulac. Macduff, thane of Fife; to whose encouragement and aid the son of Duncan had been chiefly indebted for his success; disdaining, with the magnanimity of a Caledonian chieftain, to accept the sordid reward of lands or other wealth; was gratified with honours and immunities, more pleasing to a noble mind. It was enacted, that, he and his successors,

Privileges conferred on Macduff.

thanes of Fife, should, ever after, have the privilege of placing the crown upon the head of every succeeding king of Scotland; that, they should be, in like manner, from this time, the leaders in the van of the Scottish army, whenever it might march out, with the royal banner displayed, as its ensign; that, the same Macduff and his descendents, in the direct male line, should be, henceforth, exempted from all punishment for unpremeditated murther, save the payment of a pecuniary fine *.

Several

* Major, de Gestis Scot. Lib. III. C. 5:—Fordun. 8. Chron. L. V. Cap. 9:—Buchanan, Hist. Lib. VII.——I enumerate the privileges conferred on Macduff upon the authority of these Historians. But, to say the truth, I think their evidence here suspicious. The mulct for manslaughter, stated by Major, at twenty-four merks for a noble, —twelve, for a peasant,—was certainly the condition of a law extending over the whole nation, not of an immunity enjoyed only by a particular family.—What punishment more severe than the payment of a heavy

Heroism and generosity of the King towards a Traitor.

Several years of peace followed. In the course of these Malcolm found occasion to distinguish himself by a remarkable instance of that fierce magnanimity, which is one of the most splendid qualities that ever appear in the Barbarian character. One of his bravest and most daring servants had conspired against his life. The conspiracy was, fortunately, discovered to the king, before the regicide could be perpetrated. Malcolm commanded not the instant death or imprisonment of the traitor. Taking him for his attendant, to the chase, he seized the moment when they two happened to be left alone together, in the depth of a wood: the gallant monarch then drew his sword, called to his astonished follower



heavy fine, can *he* deserve to suffer, who has committed murther in deed, but not in intention? By the laws as well of Howel Dha, as of Ina and Ethelbert, murther, in whatever circumstances committed, was to be atoned for by the payment of a specified fine. The first laws of barbarians, just beginning to subject themselves to civil order, hardly ever punish accidental murther with death. Where men live in a state of continual warfare, murther appears a crime less hainous, than among those who cultivate, in quiet security, the arts of peace. The Scots borrowed many of their first laws from the Anglo-Saxons. *Major* adds this remarkable fact; *Dicere consueverunt homicidæ, se absolvendos dummodo hanc summam darent ad Kinboc, privilegio legis Macduff.*—From all these facts and circumstances taken together, I think it clear, that this Regulation respecting manslaughter, must have been rather a law, the institution of which was procured by Macduff, than a peculiar privilege conferred upon him and his family.—Yet, have I not dared to set my own judgment in opposition to the consent of the original historians, and to the comment of Sir David Dalrymple,—in the Text of this work.

Sect. I. Chap. I.

follower to draw his alſo, and bade him now aſſail that life with the manly courage of a warriour, againſt which he had conſpired with the dark malignity of a coward. The guilty ſervant fell trembling at his ſovereign's feet, confeſſed his treachery, named his accomplices, implored pardon, and obtained it *.

Expedition of the Scots againſt Northumberland.

A. D. 1061.

But, the Scots and their gallant monarch were of ſpirits too unquiet, to endure, for any length of time, the tranquillity and inaction of peace.—Toſtigh, ſon to the famous Earl Godwin of Weſſex, was, at this time, earl of Northumberland, and, by conſequence, Malcolm's neighbour, on the confines of Lothian and of Cumbria. Toſtigh was light, violent, fierce, treacherous, and ambitious; he had obtained his earldom, by the excluſion of the family of Siward, Malcolm's ancient friend and protector. Yet, had the neceſſities of neighbourhood, or ſome other cauſe produced a profeſſed friendſhip between the Scottiſh King and the Northumbrian Earl. Such a friendſhip could not be ſtable, although ratified in the name, or over the relics of St Cuthbert. The ſanctity of their mutual engagements was diſregarded. Malcolm now invaded Northumberland,

A. D. 1061.

* Major, de Geſtis Scot. L. III. C. 5. folio 44:—Forduni Scotichronicon, in L. V. C. 11, 12:—Buchanani Hiſtoria Rer. Scotic. in L. VII:—Leſlæi de Reb. Geſt. Scot. L. VI. P. 202. Edit. Romæ, 1578.

thumberland, and laid waſte the country of Toſtigh.—But, ſo fluctuating is the policy, ſo tranſient and uncertain are not leſs the enmities than the amities of Barbarians; that Toſtigh, within two years after this, when defeated and driven out of England by his brother Harold, found refuge, for a whole ſummer, with Malcolm in Scotland *.

England ſubmits to the dominion of William of Normandy.

England, having been originally peopled by Celts and Belgæ; having been conquered, occupied, and at length evacuated by the Romans; having been next ſeized by the Anglo-Saxons, and by them poſſeſſed in ſovereignty, whether in the divided governments of the heptarchy, or in one great monarchy, for nearly ſix hundred years; having been ravaged, colonized, and held, for a ſhort time, in precarious dominion by the Danes; was now about to undergo another memorable revolution. The conqueſts and the uſurpation of the Danes had diſturbed the order of the ſucceſſion of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs. The family of Godwin had riſen to a degree of power and ſplendour in which they were enabled to obſcure the luſtre of the royal dignity, and to almoſt diſpoſe of the crown at their pleaſure. Edward the Confeſſor, without heirs of his own body; without even a relation, in the male line of his family whoſe abilities ſeem I

* Sim. Dunelmens. ad paginas 140, 190, 193, 194.

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seemed not unworthy of a throne; yet anxious to disappoint the ambition of Godwin and his sons whom he hated; and allied by affinity to the Dukes of Normandy;—was thus induced to encourage William to aspire to the inheritance of the English dominions. It was an age of adventure. William's soul was formed for vast projects, and for daring enterprise. Hardly had Harold seated himself on the throne of Edward, when the Duke of Normandy prepared to invade England. The Pope blessed his hopes; neighbouring princes favoured his expedition; soldiers of fortune flocked to his standard.

A. D. 1066.

He landed in England, with an army of sixty thousand men. Harold met him at Hastings; but was there defeated and slain. The English might have mustered a second army; but a leader was wanting to them. They hastened to avert the Conqueror's rage by submission. He was soon seated on the English throne, amidst almost the same general consent and plausive acclamations of his new subjects, as if he had been the monarch of their choice. Yet, jealousies, discontents, detected conspiracies, and unsuccessful insurrections soon restored to William, as he deemed, those rights of conquest which he seemed to have lost, by the ready servility with which the English had, at first offered their necks to his yoke. Rapine, massacre, confiscation, oppression were let loose upon them. The rapacity of William's

William's Norman followers was fully gratified. And, to be an Engliſhman was, for once, to be a ſlave*!

A. D. 1068.

Many of the Daniſh and Anglo-Saxon nobles from the northern diſtricts, ſought refuge in Scotland, with Malcolm. With them came Edgar Atheling,—the heir of the Engliſh Crown, whoſe rights Harold and William had invaded,—his mother Agatha, and his ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtian. The royal exiles were earneſt to enſure to themſelves the permanent protection of Malcolm: A mind like his was not formed to reſiſt the attractions of beauty in diſtreſs: Margaret, beſide her perſonal accompliſhments, had the hopes of a crown to offer to a lover ſufficiently powerful to contend with William: She was united, in marriage, to the Scottiſh king, ſoon after her arrival at his Court†.

Marriage of Malcolm with Margaret.

A. D. 1070.

The Scots now entered earneſtly into the counſels of the diſcontented Engliſh. Edgar Atheling, with the chieftains of Northumberland, although aided by a mighty force of Danes, from a large fleet, were ſoon diſcomfited, divided, and diſperſed, by the arms and the arts of William. Ere Malcolm could

Malcolm ſubmits to William; after that they have mutually ravaged Northumberland and Scotland.

* W. Malms, L. III. P. 57:—Matth. Paris, P. 3. Henr. Hunting, L. VII. P. 211:—Sim. Dunelm. 194: &c.

† Forduni Scotichron. L. V. C. 17:—Major, de Geſtis Scotor. L. III. C. 5:—Buchanan. in L. VII:—Leſlæi L. VI.

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could follow to ſupport them, their expedition was defeated. He, nevertheleſs, advanced with his army *, through Teeſdale, Cleveland, and the whole biſhopric of Durham; conquering all oppoſition, and laying the country deſolate as he went on. In this career of devaſtation and of victory, news were ſuddenly brought to him, that his own territories of Cumberland were equally waſted by Goſpatric; lately the adherent of Edgar, but now, for a time, the active vaſſal of William. His mind was inflamed to fury: He commanded; and his ſoldiers flew, without diſtinction of ſex or age, the unreſiſting and unarmed inhabitants whom they had, till now, ſpared; even the churches were burnt upon thoſe who had fled to them, as to ſanctuaries which the rage of war would not dare to violate. Malcolm beheld from an eminence, while the horrours of his vengeance were thus ſpread around. Weary, at length, of maſſacre, the Scots retired; carrying away captives, a multitude of the youth of both ſexes; who were ſcattered in domeſtic ſlavery through all Scotland †.

A. D. 1072.

William, enraged equally at the Scots and the Northumbrians, came, ſoon after, northwards with a mighty army; waſted, to utter deſolation, the fertile

* Out of Cumberland.

† Sim. Dunelm. P. 201: Forduni Scotichronicon, L. v. Cap. 17.

fertile country between the Humber and the Tees; ravaged Cumberland, the fieff of Malcolm; and entering Scotland, proceeded, till he found it more prudent to accept the proffered homage of the Scottiſh King, for his Cumbrian poſſeſſions; than to riſk the loſs of his own army, by leading them farther through an unknown country; the inhabitants of which ſtill laid it waſte, and retired before him, as he approached *.

The Engliſh continue to take refuge in Scotland.

William's Engliſh ſubjects groaning under oppreſſion, were ſtill diſaffected to his government. Even his Norman Barons, haughty, martial, turbulent, were ſometimes ready to inflame the diſcontents, and aid the rebellion of the native Engliſh. Numbers of both continued to retire, from time to time, to Malcolm; as they were driven into exile, or as they became impatient of William's deſpotiſm. The King of the Scots was, by his marriage with Margaret, the ſecond heir of the Anglo-Saxon royal line; in military renown, the rival of William; as his weaker neighbour, in the ſame iſland, with reaſon, jealous of the Norman's growing greatneſs. He received the refugees from England, with open arms; aſſigned them poſſeſſions in his kingdom; and retained them in honour about his court. Their



* Ingulphi, Pag. 79:—W. Malms. Pag. 103:—Chron. Sax. Pag. 181:—R. Hoveden. P. 259.

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numbers augmented the population of his dominions. The manners of his ancient ſubjects were poliſhed and corrected by the refinements which thoſe Engliſh exiles introduced. New arts began to be practiſed in Scotland; new principles of policy to be recognized; and new forms of civil order, to be eſtabliſhed.

Wars of Malcolm on his weſtern and northern confines.

The late peace between the Kings of England and Scotland, had been the more readily agreed to, on the part of William, becauſe he was then impatient to reviſit his Norman dominions; on that of Malcolm, becauſe he foreſaw, that, in William's abſence, he might more ſucceſsfully renew hoſtilities which he then wanted force to continue. But, it happened, more fortunately for the fidelity, than for the ambition of the king of the Scots; that, while the affairs of his paternal dominions called William abroad; inſurrections of the inhabitants of Moray, prædatory deſcents of the piratical Danes of the Iſles, and the equally prædatory incurſions of the Galwegians, neceſſarily withdrew Malcolm's care from his Engliſh frontier.—The Galwegians, more intent on plunder, than victory, were ſpeedily driven back to their foreſts and mountains.—Nor could the Danes of the Iſles, diſtracted as they were, by inteſtine diſcords; waſted by tyranny, rebellion, murder, parricide; without any ſettled order in the ſucceſſion

A. D. 1074.

ceſſion of their rulers; neither enjoying permanent freedom, nor ſubjected to any dominion uniformly and vigorouſly coercive;—make, in ſuch circumſtances, a ſteady or effectual oppoſition to the arms of Malcolm. They might harraſs by a deſultory war of robbery and ſtratagem; but under Malcolm, ſuch enemies could prevail againſt the Scots, only by temporary ſurprize.—The people of Moray, and with them, thoſe of Caithneſs, whether inſtigated to rebellion ſolely by the turbulence of their own temper and manners, or encouraged as well as aided by the Danes from the Orkneys, and from the adjacent continent, could not be reduced to obedience, till Malcolm marched, in perſon againſt them. They were awed into ſubmiſſion by his preſence, or conquered by his arms*.



A. D. 1076.

But, ſcenes of domeſtic felicity, more grateful than the field of carnage and victory, ſtill awaited the huſband of Margaret, at his return from war. She had not loſt her influence over his heart, by becoming his wife. She bore him ſix ſons and two daughters, the pledges of conjugal happineſs, the ſtrength and ornaments of his houſe. The elegance and order which ſhe introduced into his court and houſhold, ſoftened the native ferocity of his rude, although

Domeſtic life and civil tranſactions of Malcolm.

* Chronicon. Manniæ, *ſub initio*:—Leſlæi in de Rebus Geſtis, Lib. VI. P. 201:—Buchan. Hiſt. Lib. VII.

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although lofty and generous ſpirit. Inſtructed by her leſſons, and won by her example, the warriour learned by degrees, to put on the mildneſs, and humility of the Chriſtian. The Clergy in the Court, beheld with mingled joy and reverence,—while Margaret engaged her huſband to act as interpreter, in pious conferences between herſelf who ſpake only the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and prieſts and nobles who underſtood none but the Gaelic;—while ſhe adminiſtered food to orphans and to the poor, and in imitation of our Lord's humility, waſhed their feet. By her influence, joined to that of the Engliſh refugees, ſeveral of the more groſs and barbarous cuſtoms of the Scots were aboliſhed; and various wiſe and beneficial laws inſtituted; which were either adopted from the ſyſtem of the Anglo-Saxon juriſprudence, or formed upon the purer principles of evangelical morality. New biſhopricks were, at the ſame time eſtabliſhed: and new ſtructures raiſed, for the ſervice of religion*.

Wars in Northumberland.

The war with England was, after a few years, renewed. If Edgar Atheling choſe to acquieſce in William's uſurpation of his rights; yet Malcolm was not obliged to follow the example. He ſeems to have deſired to add Northumberland to Cumberland,

* Turgotti Vita Margarette, in Actis Sanctor.:—Forduni Scotichron. L. V. C. 18:—Major L. III. C. 8. &c.

land, and to poſſeſs both, not in fieff, but in ſovereignty. William was called again to the continent, by the affairs of Normandy. Malcolm ſeized the opportunity, and made a ſucceſsful expedition into Northumberland. At Gateſhead, he routed the Engliſh, with great ſlaughter. The fortified places fell all into his hands. And, he made himſelf maſter of the whole earldom. Odo, the uterine brother of William, and Robert, the Conqueror's eldeſt ſon, were ſent, to reſiſt the progreſs of the Scots. But, Malcolm maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. Robert one of the braveſt warriours of his age, atchieved nothing memorable in this command; but, to guard the receding frontier of the Engliſh dominions, built the fortreſs of Newcaſtle upon Tyne*.

A. D. 1079.

Northumberland again invaded by Malcolm.

The Conqueror of England lived not to oppoſe the Scots again in perſon. But, William Rufus had no ſooner eſtabliſhed himſelf on his father's throne, than he made preparations, to drive them back, within their ancient limits. Edgar Atheling who had, long ſince been reconciled to the Houſe of Normandy, and had ſubmitted to depend upon the bounty and protection of the conqueror and his

* Sim. Dunelm. 210:—Chron. Sax. 184:—Major. L. III. C. 6. folio 45.—Forduni Scotichronicon, L. V. C. 18.

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his ſons, was, about this ſame time, driven back into Scotland. Goſpatric, too, the repreſentative of the Daniſh Earls of Northumberland, had now been, for many years, the vaſſal of Malcolm. Upon ſuch offences, and with theſe adherents, Malcolm, anticipating the threatened hoſtilities of Rufus, led an army into the Engliſh territories, advanced to Cheſter-le-Street; and, after ravaging his enemy's frontier, returned home, without having drawn the Engliſh to any general engagement.

Peace between Malcolm and William Rufus.

A. D. 1091.

Within a few months, the king of England came northwards, with a powerful army, and a numerous and well appointed fleet. His fleet was overtaken and deſtroyed by a tempeſt. But, with his army, he nevertheleſs proceeded againſt the Scots. Malcolm, returning from the country beyond the Forth, advanced into the diſtrict of Lothian (A), to meet the Engliſh. A peace, more advantageous to both, than continued bloodſhed and devaſtation, was mediated between the two kings, by Robert, the brother of William, and Edgar, the brother-in-law of Malcolm. The king of the Scots yielded to the Engliſh monarch, all his Northumbrian poſſeſſions; with the reſervation of only twelve

* Chron. Sax. 179.—Sim. Dunelm. 116, 218.

twelve manors, and of an annual penſion of twelve merks of gold, to be paid to him by William *.

Malcolm viſits the Engliſh Court.

But, what peace could be laſting, between two ambitious monarchs, between two warlike and reſtleſs nations, in circumſtances of neighbourhood, ſo formed to invite mutual offence? William built a caſtle at Carliſle. Malcolm regarded this act as an infringement of the late treaty, and an incroachment upon his feudal property in Cumberland. But, age and experience had mellowed the ardour of temper which diſtinguiſhed his earlier life. Religion, it ſhould ſeem, had taught him to look back with horrour and remorſe, on the cruelties he had exerciſed, in his various wars. In atonement for the ſavage barbarity with which he had formerly waſted Teeſdale, and the country round Durham, and for the ſacrilege of which he had been guilty in burning down the churches upon the miſerable peaſantry who took refuge in them; he was, at this time, preparing to rebuild, in new magnificence, the cathedral of Durham; the prior and biſhop of which were among his confidential friends. In this diſpoſition, he preferred remonſtrance and negotiation to the inſtant renewal of war. He was even perſuaded to repair to William's Court. Yet, when required, probably as the only new condition on his

* Chron. Sax. P. 197:—Sim. Dunelm. P. 216:—See alſo Note A.

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his part, to do homage for his poſſeſſions in England; he refuſed, with indignation, to purchaſe a precarious ſecurity, at the expence of his own honour and that of his Crown. He profeſſed himſelf willing to do the homage demanded, on the confines between the two kingdoms; not elſewhere *.

Malcolm defeated and ſlain. A. D. 1093.

Retiring, upon this, abruptly, from the Engliſh court; he haſtened into his own dominions; and from theſe inſtantly returned, with an hoſtile force, againſt Northumberland. After ravaging the open country, he laid ſiege to Alnwick-Caſtle. But, Robert de Mowbray, the Engliſh Earl of the county, having, in the mean time, collected a force, came upon the beſiegers, ere they were aware of his approach. They raiſed the ſiege, to meet his attack. A fierce engagement and a great ſlaughter enſued. The Scots were routed; their king, and his eldeſt ſon, Edward, who ſhould have ſucceeded him, ſlain. De Mowbray interred Malcolm's body at Tinmouth: that of Edward was conveyed to Dunfermline. Thus was Northumberland loſt to the Scots †.

Death of Queen Margaret.

Margaret, at this time, lay ſick in Edinburgh-Caſtle. When ſhe heard that the Scots were defeated,

* Sim. Dunelm. P. 218:—W. Malms. P. 222:—Forduni Scotichronicon. L. V. Cap. 24.

† Chron. Sax. P. 199:—W. Malms. P. 122:—Forduni S. Chron. L. V. Cap. 25:—Major. L. III. Cap. 8. &c.

feated, her ſon and huſband ſlain, and the body of Malcolm left in the hands of the victors; her ſtrength and ſpirits failed her; ſhe made confeſſion; received the holy ſacrament; gave her dying bleſſing and and advice to her children; and expired *.



* Vita Margaretæ, in Actis Sanct:—Fordun. in Lib. V. Cap. 26, ex Turgoto.——

In the 4th chapter of 1 Samuel, in the Holy Bible, is an inimitable narrative of ſome events ſtrikingly ſimilar to theſe.—"And the Philiſtines fought, and Iſrael was ſmitten, and they fled every man into his tent: and there was a very great ſlaughter; for there fell of Iſrael thirty thouſand footmen. And the ark of God was taken: and the two ſons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were ſlain. And there ran a man of Benjamin, out of the army, and came to Shiloh, the ſame day, with his clothes rent, and with earth upon his head. And when he came, lo, Eli ſat upon a ſeat, by the way-ſide, *watching*; for *his heart trembled* for the ark of God. And when the man came into the city and told it, all the city cried out. And when Eli heard the noiſe of the crying, he ſaid, what meaneth the noiſe of this tumult? and the man came in haſtily, and told Eli. Now Eli was ninety and eight years old; and his eyes were dim, that he could not ſee. And the man ſaid unto Eli, I am he that came out of the army, and I fled to day out of the army. And he (Eli) ſaid, what is there done, my ſon? And the meſſenger anſwered and ſaid, Iſrael is fled before the Philiſtines, and there hath been alſo a great ſlaughter among the people, and thy two ſons alſo, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of God is taken. And it came to paſs, *when he made mention of the ark of God, that he* (Eli) *fell from off the ſeat backward by the ſide of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died*, for he was an old man and heavy. And he had judged Iſrael forty years.——And his daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas, was with child near to be delivered: and *when ſhe heard the tidings that the ark of God was taken*, and that her father-in-law, and her huſband were dead, ſhe bowed herſelf and travailed; for her pains came upon her. And about the time of her death, the

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Children of Malcolm and Margaret.

Of the children of Malcolm and Margaret, ſeven ſurvived them; Edmund, Edgar, Alexander, David, ſons; Matildis, Mary, daughters *.

Character of Malcolm.

The character of Malcolm is expreſſed in the tranſactions of his reign. He appears to have had the fierce and haughty ſpirit of a rude age, of a nation who knew no trade but war, of that condition which commands, but is not ſubject to obey. With this, he poſſeſſed, alſo, that lofty magnanimity, which conſiſts in the union of conſcious knowledge or power, with ardour of paſſion, correct notions of moral rectitude, and native benevolence of temper, without any debaſing alloy of the groſſer and meaner ſelfiſh principles. He was wiſe, not leſs than valiant; as appears from the ſucceſs which crowned the greater part of his undertakings. Sound policy, free from the knavery and folly of cunning, evidently guided him in the general management of his wars and treaties with his Engliſh neighbours. The improvement of the national manners in his time, is indeed to be attributed rather to the influence

the women that ſtood by her, ſaid unto her, Fear not; for thou haſt born a ſon. *But ſhe anſwered not, neither did ſhe regard it.* And ſhe named the child I-chabod, ſaying, the glory is departed from Iſrael. Becauſe the ark of God was taken, and *becauſe of her father-in-law, and her huſband.* And ſhe ſaid, *the glory is departed from Iſrael:* for the ark of God is taken!"

* Sim. Dunelm. P. 201;—Buchanan. Lib. VII. P. 215. &c.

ence of that great event which drove ſo many of the Engliſh to his court, than to any foreſight, or illumination beyond the character of the age,—in himſelf: Yet, was it no ſmall merit in him, to have received illuſtrious ſtrangers with generous hoſpitality, and to have adopted from their principles and manners that which promiſed advantage to his ſubjects; but nothing ſimply for the ſake of that novelty which faſcinates light minds. *He* muſt have been a man of no ſmall prudence and ſtrength of mind, *who* could be pious, in an age when piety was almoſt univerſally ſuperſtition, without ſuffering the clergy to plunder, or domineer over him; *and who* could poſſeſs a woman lovely and accompliſhed as Margaret, of whom he was paſſionately fond, without reſigning himſelf ſo wholly to her influence, as hardly to retain the reins of government in his own hands.

Character of Margaret.

Margaret was worthy of her huſband, and of her royal rank. The Age in which ſhe lived, had no fairer ornament to boaſt of. A woman leſs prudent and leſs amiable, could not have ſoftened the mind of a fierce and martial huſband, or civilized the manners of a barbarous people, or eſtabliſhed order, magnificence, and politeneſs in a Court, in which ſimplicity and groſſneſs had hitherto prevailed. She was fervently and punctiliouſ-

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ly pious, without deſerting the ordinary duties of life; ſplendid, and elegant in her dreſs and manners, without any thing of frivolous levity. As a wife, chaſte and affectionate; as a mother, ſhe was tender, anxious, attentive eſpecially to the education of her children. It is perhaps the firſt praiſe of her underſtanding, that, having obtained great influence over Malcolm's mind, ſhe could content herſelf with that ſhare of authority which he willingly communicated to her, not pretending to direct or govern him in every thing. Of her perſonal beauty, old monks ſpeak with all the rapture of young admirers. The Romiſh church derives not greater luſtre from any other of thoſe names which it has dignified with canonization, than from that of Queen Margaret *.

* Vita Margaritæ in Actis Sanctorum.—Forduni Scotichronicon, Lib. V. Cap. 16. to 27.—I am ſorry to obſerve, that Sir David Dalrymple, judging of the character of Margaret, by the ſtandard of the taſte and moral ſentiments, not of the age in which ſhe lived, but of the preſent time, has accuſed her of weakneſſes for which ſhe cannot be juſtly blamed! Annals, 38.

## Chapter II.

### *Donald Bane: Duncan: Edgar.*

BY the death of Malcolm Canmore and his eldeſt ſon, Edward, and by the overthrow and ſlaughter of their army, Scotland was left in a ſtate of extreme diſorder and diſtreſs. Malcolm's other ſons were, as yet too young to aſſume the ſovereign authority over a barbarous and turbulent people; who ſcorned ſubmiſſion to the ſhadowy royalty of infancy, of unmanly ſoftneſs, or of decrepid age. All that country which the Scots poſſeſſed on the ſouthern ſide of the Forth, was open, and without defence againſt the incurſions of the victorious Engliſh. The ancient and northern Scots had beheld with indignation, while Malcolm filled his dominions with ſtrangers, and imitated a foreign œconomy and foreign manners in the order and amuſements of his Court: Thoſe new inſtitutions which he had laboured to eſtabliſh, were abhorred as tyrannical, by men who experienced all the evils of the want of laws, without knowing, that the only remedy of ſuch evils was to be found in efficient legiſlation: The misfortune by which the monarch and his army were cut off, ſeemed fully to juſtify any diſcontents which had ariſen againſt his government:

A. D. 1093.

State and temper of the nation.

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ment: And, more than half the nation were impatient for the abolition of the new laws, for the proſcription of every late innovation in manners and cuſtoms, and even for the expulſion of the obnoxious Anglo-Saxons. All was confuſion and diſcord throughout the kingdom. An invader who ſhould have ſeized the occaſion could ſcarcely have failed of ſucceſs *.

Uſurpation of Donald Bane.

In this ſtate of the affairs of Scotland, Donald Bane, brother to the late king, came, either from the Hebudæ to which he might have been ſent in exile, or from the north-weſt parts of Scotland, where he might have been placed to oppoſe the iſlanders; gained the wiſhes of all the old Scots; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, without reſpecting the rights of his nephews †.

The children of Malcolm take refuge in England.

Happily for them, Edgar Atheling yet ſurvived, to be the guardian of his ſiſter's children. With their welfare, too, was the fortune of all the Anglo-Saxons who had lately obtained eſtabliſhments in Scotland, inſeparably connected. They were immediately conducted into England, beyond the reach of the violence or the dark machinations of Donald. Nor

* Forduni Scotichronicon, L. V. Cap. 26.—Major, L. III. Cap. 9.—Buchanan. Lib. VII. P. 215.—Leſlæi, L. VI. P. 205, &c.

† Chron. Sax. 199.—Major, L. III. C. 9.—Fordun. L. V. C. 26.

Nor did the Engliſh monarch cheriſh reſentment againſt the exiled family of his fallen rival*.

Donald expelled by Duncan.

In the mean time, Duncan, the natural ſon of Malcolm, was invited to expel the uſurper of his father's throne. Duncan was now of mature age; he had, for ſome time practiſed the art of war in the ſervice of William Rufus; the redreſs of injuſtice by valorous exertion, was the nobleſt taſk to which a gallant knight could be called; even without the encouragement and aid of William which he appears to have obtained, or the hopes of a crown which he might ſecretly indulge, Duncan could not well have refuſed to vindicate the rights of his father's legitimate children. Many Engliſh adventurers joined his expedition; all in Scotland, who were yet attached to the memory of Malcolm, flocked to his ſtandard; even the adherents of the uſurper began to waver between faction and duty; doubt and heſitation produced the effects of cowardice; they were eaſily diſperſed; and Donald himſelf forced to take refuge in the Hebudæ†.

A. D. 1094.

Duncan aſſaſſinated.

The ſupreme power remained with Duncan. He diſcovered now no impatient haſte to reſtore his brothers

A. D. 1095.

* Forduni Scotichron. L. V. C. 16:—Leſlæi, L. VI. P. 206.

† Forduni Scotichron. L. V. Cap. 28:—Major, L. III. Cap. 9:—Sim. Dunelm. P. 219:—Buchanan. Lib. VII. P. 215:—Leſlæi. L. VI. P. 206.

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brothers to the enjoyment of their rights. While he ſeemed willing to uſurp, himſelf, that throne from which he had juſt expelled an uſurper; a party of his own followers conſpired with the faction of Donald, againſt his life. Many of theſe laſt were ſtill in arms, when Duncan was treacherouſly ſlain by Malpedir, Thane or Earl of Mearnes*.

Reſtoration of Donald.

The reſtoration of Donald followed. The Anglo-Saxons were baniſhed. Edmund the ſecond in age of the ſurviving ſons of Malcolm, having fallen into his uncle's power, was taken off by ſecret fraud, or by open violence. Malcolm's inſtitutions were eagerly aboliſhed. The cuſtoms, arts, and manners which had been borrowed from England were rejected with abhorrence. Donald haſtened to reduce all the inhabitants of Scotland into their ancient barbariſm, as the beſt ſafeguard of his reign. But, he was not long to enjoy the prize of his crimes *.

Donald finally dethroned.

A. D. 1098.

Edgar Atheling, (who, however gentle and unambitious, appears to have been generous, humane, and not deſtitute of abilities for war,) was willing to make a new effort in behalf of his nephews. Rufus

* W. Malmſburiens, P. 150:—Forduni Scotichron. L. V. C. 28:—Major. Lib. III. Cap. 9:—Leſlæi Lib. VI. P. 206:—Buchan. L. VII. P. 216.

† Sim. Dunelm. P. 220:—Forduni Scotichron. L. V. C. 29, &c.

Rufus encouraged his purpoſe. He raiſed an army in England. The young princes accompanied their uncle in the expedition. As they approached the border of Scotland, the ſouthern Scots joined them in numbers, and with an eagerneſs which ſeemed to promiſe ſure ſucceſs. A propitious viſion of St Cuthbert to young Edgar, was feigned or fancied. It was meritorious to be unfaithful to an uſurper; and the Scottiſh chieftains, deſerting Donald, repaired, with an emulation of levity, to proffer their allegiance to the ſon of Malcolm. Donald could not even make his eſcape, as formerly. His eyes were put out; and he was caſt, to languiſh out the ſhort remainder of his life in a dungeon*.

Acceſſion and reign of Edgar.

After a ſeries of civil wars, and after having, for a while ſlaughtered one another in the quarrel of rival uſurpers; the Scots now, with one accord, placed Edgar, the fourth ſon of Malcolm by Margaret, on the throne of his anceſtors; for, of his three elder brothers, Edward and Edmund were no more, Ethelred had betaken himſelf to a life of religious retirement, and to the ſervice of the altar †.

Edgar receiving the willing homage of the Scottiſh nation, was not harraſſed, like his immediate



* Forduni Scotichron. L. V. Cap. 30:—Chron. Sax. 206, &c.

† Fordun. L. V. C. 28:—W. Malms:—Sim. Dunelm. 201.

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predeceſſors, by domeſtic conſpiracy or rebellion. Naturally gentle in his temper, and without ſtrength or enlargement of underſtanding; his ſpirit had been farther ſoftened by early adverſity, and broken by habits of timid ſuperſtition, impreſſed in the courſe of a monkiſh education. One of the firſt acts of his reign was the founding of a priory at Coldingham, for the entertainment of monks of the order of St Benedict*. The Norſe poſſeſſors of the northern and weſtern iſles, were ſubdued, during the reign of Edgar, by Magnus, a new invader from Norway; the Galwegians were harraſſed and alarmed by his deſcents upon their coaſts; and Edgar's northern and weſtern frontiers were thus protected by the diſſenſions and diſtreſſes of his turbulent neighbours. With the Engliſh to whom he owed the ſafety of his early youth, and the recovery of his father's ſceptre, Edgar maintained inviolable peace; which was more cloſely cemented, upon the death of William Rufus, by the marriage of Matildis, the ſiſter of Edgar, with Henry, William's younger brother and ſucceſſor. After a reign of eight tranquil years, Edgar died, on the eighth of January, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and ſeven. Even his warmeſt panegyriſts could honour

* Fordun. L. V. C. 34:—Copies of the charter may be ſeen in Smith's Edition of Bede's Hiſt. Eccl. P. 760. The erection was in honour of St Cutbbert, and in favour of the monks of Durham.

honour his memory with no higher praiſe, than that his character nearly reſembled that of Edward the Confeſſor, of England *. Sect. I. Ch. III.

## Chapter III.

### *Alexander the First,* *Popularly denominated* the Fierce.

Alexander ſucceeded to his brother Edgar, in his Scottiſh dominions; relinquiſhing, with reluctance, the principality of Cumberland, to David, the youngeſt of the ſons of Malcolm Canmore. To confirm the peace which had, now for ſome time, ſubſiſted between Scotland and England, Alexander accepted, in marriage, Sibylla, natural daughter to his brother-in-law, Henry, the Engliſh king. David was, ſome time after, married to Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland †. Acceſſion and marriage of Alexander. A. D. 1106.

Alexander, early in his reign, applied himſelf to ſuppreſs that diſorderly licence, ſcornful of ſubordination, which having been encouraged eſpecially Vigorous government of Alexander.



* Chron. Manniæ, in Camden:—Sim. Dunelm. 223, 230:—Matth. Paris, P. 48:—Major, L. III. C. 9, &c.

† Fordun. L. V. Cap. 36, 40:—Aldred. de bell. ſtandard. 344:—W. Malmſburiens, 158, &c.

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among the northern Scots, by the conteſts of the late uſurpers, had been rather increaſed than reſtrained under the feeble government of Edgar. The perſonal character of Alexander, his ardent temper, and daring ſpirit contributed not a little to his ſucceſs in overawing his turbulent ſubjects, and reducing them into ſubmiſſion. The Scots ſaw themſelves ſubject to a ſon of Malcolm, not inferior to his father in thoſe qualities which are the moſt indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the ruler of a barbarous people. The boldeſt chieftains trembled in the preſence of Alexander. And his ſubjects in general, when they compared his manners to thoſe of the gentle and pacific Edgar, learned to denominate him *the Fierce* *.

Peace between Scotland and England during the reign of Alexander.

WITH England he continued to maintain that friendly intercourſe which had been, now, for ſome time, eſtabliſhed between the family of Malcolm Canmore and that of William the Conqueror, by the mutual relations and ties of protection, gratitude, and affinity. We are not told, that the homage of Edgar or Alexander was either claimed or refuſed. We hear nothing, during theſe reigns, of incroachments on the Scottiſh or the Engliſh borders, by the one or the other nation. The kings of

* Fordun. L. V. Cap. 36:—Major, L. III. Cap. 10:—Leſlæi, L. VI. P. 208.

of England had their eyes continually fixed on the great theatre of the Continent, where they were deeply intereſted, and on which they were emulous to act a conſpicuous part. The kings of Scotland, ſtruggling to aſcend the throne, or ſettling themſelves, with difficulty, upon it, thought not of extending their territories, or vindicating the independence of their Crown.—But, Alexander appears to have laboured, with no ſmall trouble, to aſſert another independence, that of the national church*.

Review of the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England and Scotland.

The Britons, the Iriſh, the Scots having been converted to chriſtianity, before the biſhop of Rome had attained to the dignity of patriarch of the Weſt, remained, for a while, ſtrangers to his authority. The Anglo-Saxons were, in the mean time, converted by Romiſh miſſionaries. A biſhop of Canterbury was, conſecrated by the Roman Father, and by him authorized to ordain other biſhops, as the reſt of Britain ſhould be brought to embrace the Chriſtian faith, and reduced into obedience to the See of Rome. When the Anglo-Saxons had been all baptized; the Scots and Picts were next to be reconciled to the Catholic church. As they were perſuaded to own the authority of the Pope; their prieſts and biſhops were no longer ordained by the Abbot and the monks of Hyona or Dunkeld, but

* Fordun. L. V. Cap. 36:—Buchanan. L. VII. P. 217.

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but by the neareſt Engliſh biſhop. York was the ſeat of the firſt biſhop in the North, as Canterbury had been the ſeat of the firſt in the South of England. And the biſhop of York having, in conſequence of this circumſtance, obtained archiepiſcopal authority over the northern dioceſes: the Scottiſh biſhops became ſuffragans of that See, received conſecration from its biſhop, and continued to be, in divers reſpects, ſubject to his juriſdiction *.

Alexander prepares to vindicate the independence of the Scotiſh Church.

WHILE the Scottiſh biſhops were very few, and their power and revenues inconſiderable; neither kings nor eccleſiaſtics had ſhewn any ſolicitude to free the Scottiſh church from a ſecondary dependency upon the church of a rival kingdom. But the Culdees had now ſunk entirely into diſcredit; and but few of the order remained; the biſhoprics had been multiplied and enriched; and the clergy had become eminent by their influence even on the civil character of the nation. Alexander, therefore, when he, firſt, had occaſion to nominate a biſhop to the See of St Andrew's, the chief biſhopric in his kingdom, named Turgot, a monk of Durham, the confeſſor and biographer of the pious Queen Margaret; but permitted him not to receive conſecration from the archbiſhop of York, till after a train of negociations with the Engliſh Court, and with the two archbiſhops

A. D. 1109.

* Bedæ Hiſt. Eccles. L. 26: III. 4: I. 29, &c.

archbiſhops of England; nor even then, without an ambiguous acknowledgment by all parties; which, confeſſing the *independency* of the Scottiſh church to be, at leaſt, doubtful, ſeemed thus to prepare the way for *its* complete vindication, at a future time. The Engliſh king, at the requeſt of Alexander, commanded the archbiſhop of York to conſecrate Turgot, biſhop of St Andrew's,—*ſaving the authority of both churches.* Turgot died. Another biſhop of St Andrew's was to be appointed and conſecrated. To avoid, upon this occaſion, any interference of the archbiſhop of York, Alexander ſent for Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, to fill the vacant primacy of his kingdom; artfully propoſing, at the ſame time, that the new biſhop of St Andrew's ſhould receive conſecration from the hands either of the archbiſhop of Canterbury or of the Pope himſelf. Eadmer accepted the invitation. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was pleaſed with the proſpect of enlarged juriſdiction. But, Eadmer ſoon found, that he would be as little permitted to receive conſecration at Canterbury, as at York; and that Alexander had determined to free the Scottiſh church from dependence on any foreign See, but that of Rome. More highly attached to Canterbury than to Scotland, Eadmer refuſed to comply with the king's wiſhes. Nor would Alexander yield to the obſtinate monk. With reluctance, Eadmer

A. D. 1120.

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Eadmer then left the kingdom. The king not ill ſatisfied to find himſelf thus eaſily freed from the preſence of a man whom he could not bend to his purpoſes, would liſten to no ſubſequent ſolicitations for the recal of the ſelf-exiled biſhop, nor meet any of his advances towards a reconciliation*.

Benefactions of Alexander to the church.

Yet was Alexander a liberal benefactor to the Church. At an early period in his reign, he founded a monaſtery of Canons-Regular at Scone. The monaſtery of Dunfermline, founded by Malcolm and Margaret, was enriched by Alexander, with additional revenues. Having eſcaped from extreme danger of ſhip-wreck, in croſſing the frith of Forth, by landing on the ſmall iſle of Inch-Colm, once a ſeat of the Culdees; he, in gratitude to God for his preſervation, eſtabliſhed in this iſle, another monaſtery of Canons-Regular. Theſe ſame Canons obtained alſo from his liberality, a ſettlement in an iſlet of Loch-Tay. Upon the monks of St Andrew's, he beſtowed thoſe lands, contiguous to their monaſtery, which are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Boar-Chase †.

After

* Eadmer, P. 17. 98. 117. 130, &c:—Sim. Dunelm. P. 207. 232. &c.

† Ferduni Scotichron. Lib. V. 36, 37. Major III. 10.—Statiſtical Accounts, Volume XIII. P. 189.

After a reign of eighteen years, Alexander died at Stirling, on the twenty ſeventh of April, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and twenty four; having ſurvived his queen, Sibylla, nearly three years *. His death; A. D. 1124.

The hiſtory of Alexander appears too ſcanty for the length of his reign. But, it ſhould ſeem that the monkiſh hiſtorians have overlooked his *civil* tranſactions; not foreſeeing, that *ſuch* would, one day, be of much higher importance in the eyes of poſterity, than deſultory wars, or even eccleſiaſtical affairs. In his character, and in the ſpirit of his government, this monarch nearly reſembled his father. His fierceneſs was but neceſſary energy, without which he might have, in vain attempted to reclaim the Scots from that ſavage barbariſm into which they had impetuouſly relapſed under Donald Bane, and during the wars for the ſucceſſion. To the Church, if the temper of the times be conſidered, he will appear to have been neither niggardly, nor weakly profuſe. But, Sibylla was not a Margaret: ſhe had not talents or charms, to exert a powerful or happy influence on the mind of her huſband. Her character was, at beſt, but a doubtful one †. And character.



* Ford. V. 40.

† W. Malmſburiens, P. 158.

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## Chapter IV.

### *David the First.*

Accession of David. A BUSIER period, and a more ſplendid reign now open before us. David prince of Cumberland ſucceeded his brother Alexander.

1125. The conteſt concerning the independency of the Scottiſh Church was renewed immediately after David's acceſſion. Alexander had, not long before, named a ſucceſſor to Eadmer. But, the old difficulties, and the death of the king within ſome months after the nomination, had prevented the new biſhop of St Andrew's, from being conſecrated to his office. A legate from the Pope now called a council of the Scottiſh and Engliſh clergy at Roxburgh, to terminate all differences concerning the connexions between the churches of the two nations. The deliberations of the Council failed to accompliſh this purpoſe. The biſhop of St Andrew's indeed received conſecration from the hands of the archbiſhop of York: but the queſtion of independency or juriſdiction was expreſsly left undecided*.

A REBELLION

* Sim. Dunelm. 252.—Wilkin's Concil. I. 407.—Anglia Sacra, II. 237, &c.

A rebellion of the inhabitants of Moray within a few years after David had mounted the throne, ſerved rather to confirm than to ſhake his authority. It ſoon appeared that the helm of government was ſteered with as ſteady a hand, as in the former reign. The career of the rebels was oppoſed; they were totally routed at Strickathrow; and Angus, their Earl and Leader, ſlain *.

Rebellion in Moray quaſhed.

A. D. 1130.

The king of the Scots was ſtill the feudatory ſubject of England. He had not loſt or abandoned, upon his acceſſion to the Scottiſh throne, either the principality of Cumberland, the ancient fieff of his family, or the earldom of Huntingdon which he had acquired with his wife. It was as prince of Cumberland and earl of Huntingdon, that David, at the requeſt of Henry, joined the Engliſh nobility in vowing to maintain to Matilda, this monarch's only ſurviving, legitimate child, her right of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne, upon her father's death. The princeſs was, at the ſame time, David's niece. Henry might therefore hope, that his daughter would find her moſt faithful ſervant and protector in her moſt powerful ſubject. Nor did it prove otherwiſe †.

David vows homage to Matilda, as heireſs of the Engliſh Crown.



* Chron. Melroſ. P. 165.—Orderic. Vital. P. 702, &c.

† Willielm. Malmſburiens. P. 175.

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Not many years after the above tranſaction, Henry died. Ere his body could be depoſited in the tomb; Stephen, Earl of Mortaigne, and grandſon by a daughter, to the firſt Norman ſovereign of England; although he had ſworn allegiance to Matilda, at the ſame time as the king of Scotland; yet, in contempt of his oaths, aſpired to aſcend the throne which was juſtly her inheritance; and ſeducing the wiſhes of the people, was immediately crowned, as Henry's ſucceſſor †.

Stephen uſurps the Engliſh throne.

A. D. 1135.

While Stephen was buſied about the ceremonies of his coronation, or was eſtabliſhing and fortifying his power in the ſouthern parts of his new dominions; David zealouſly prepared to maintain Matilda's rights in the North. His zeal was well ſeconded by his activity. He was maſter of all the counties on the northern confine of England, and had compelled the earls and barons by whom they were held, to ſwear allegiance to Matilda, perhaps ere the uſurper was aware of his intentions, at leaſt before meaſures could be taken to oppoſe him †.

David invades the North of England.

A. D. 1135.

But, Stephen wanted not the abilities neceſſary to uſurpation. He haſtened to meet the career of the Scot. His force was ſo formidable as to leave David

Stephen oppoſes David, but ſoon makes peace with him.

* W. Malmſburiens, P. 177.—Matth. Paris. P. 62.
† J. Hagulſtad. P. 258.—Matth. Paris. P. 62.

David no hopes but in ſubmiſſion. Thoſe conqueſts which he had made for Matilda, were ſurrendered to Stephen. Even a part of the fieffs which he had held, as the vaſſal of England, were ceded to his ſon Henry, who conſented to do that homage to the ſucceſsful uſurper, which his father ſtill reſolutely refuſed. David appears indeed to have retained the greater part of Cumberland, either in free ſovereignty, or as the ſubject of Matilda. His ſon was permitted to expect the earldom of Northumberland from the favour of Stephen, in addition to Huntingdon, Doncaſter, and the caſtle of Carliſle which his father had reſigned to him *.

The peace between David and Stephen violated, & England again invaded by the Scots.

A. D. 1136-7.

A PEACE extorted, as it ſhould ſeem, from both parties, by the neceſſity of their reſpective circumſtances, could not be laſting. The earldom of Northumberland was not beſtowed upon Henry. Diſcontents and conſpiracies aroſe among the Engliſh, to weaken the hands of Stephen. Matilda and her partizans prepared to wreſt the Crown from the uſurper. The king of the Scots, thus provoked and encouraged, and not unmindful of the fidelity which he had vowed to the daughter of Henry, inſtantly demanded the ceſſion of Northumberland to his ſon; and would refrain from hoſtilities, only till Stephen ſhould explicitly grant or refuſe his demand.

Stephen's

* J. Hagulſtad. P. 258:—R. Hagulſtad. P. 312:—Matth. Paris. P. 62.

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Stephens's anſwer was ſuch as to inflame his wrath. The Scots poured immediately down upon Northumberland. Unſucceſsful in the ſiege of Werk-caſtle, they turned, in fury upon the circumjacent country. A ſavage and tumultuary army were not to be withheld from the utmoſt atrocities of pillage, maſſacre, and devaſtation, by the cold remonſtrances of their leaders. All Northumberland became before them, one horrid ſcene of bloodſhed and conflagration, in every variety of circumſtances, which could aggravate the barbarity of the perpetrators, or the miſery of the ſufferers. The Scots ſeemed ſo many demons of malignity and carnage, enjoying the horrours which they ſpread around. The youth of Hexham gallantly, perhaps raſhly took arms, and attacked them with ſome ſucceſs. It was but the ſucceſs of a moment. The plunderers exaſperated at the loſs they ſuffered in this rencounter, aſſailed the abbey of Hexham, and were, with difficulty ſtayed from deſtroying the buildings of that ſeat of religion, and maſſacring the monks, its inhabitants*.

Stephen comes againſt the Scots. A. D. 1138.

Stephen was, in the mean time, haſtening northwards, to repel the invaders. At his approach, David drew back his army to Roxburgh. The Engliſh

* Forduni Schotichron. L. V. C. 42 :—J. Hagulſtad, 260 :—Matth. Paris. 63.

Engliſh monarch continued to advance; but, avoiding Roxburgh, croſſed the Tweed by a different paſſage; and waſted the Scottiſh frontier; till ſome diſtruſt of the fidelity of his troops, or alarming intelligence from ſome other part of his dominions, obliged him to retire abruptly *.

The Scots again invade England.

David returned into Northumberland. He was encouraged by the ſpirit of rebellion againſt Stephen's government, which had now broken out, through almoſt all England. Of the northern barons, Euſtace Fitz John had already deſerted to David. No ſooner were the Scottiſh army within the Engliſh territories, than they renewed their former outrages. In vain did their king and leaders ſtrive to reſtrain them. But, at the feigned news of the return of the Engliſh army, thoſe baſe ſoldiers, brave only to pillage and to diſobey, fled, with precipitation, homewards. On the border, David ſtayed their flight, and laid ſiege to Norham-caſtle. It was ſurrendered, after a faint defence; and diſmantled by the Scots†.

The Engliſh defeated at Cliſtherow.

While the king, with one diviſion of his army, lay before the caſtle of Norham; his nephew, William, the ſon of Duncan, penetrated, with another body

* R. Hagulſtad. P. 317:—Matth. Paris, 63.

† R. Hagulſtad. P. 218:—J. Hagulſtad. P. 261.

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body of Scots and Galwegians, through Craven, into Lancaſhire. At Clitherow, near the ſources of the Ribble, an Engliſh army were aſſembled to oppoſe him. Unable to withſtand the impetuous onſet of the Galwegians, the Engliſh were totally routed. Heaps of ſpoil, and multitudes of priſoners were the prize of the victors *.

Progreſs of the Scots in Yorkſhire.

From Norham, David led his forces, to join the fortunes of his nephew. Fitz-John who had formerly deſerted to him, now enlightened his counſels, and guided his march. Stephen ſore preſſed by enemies in the ſouthern parts of England, whoſe force he could hardly withſtand, came not to ſupport his faithful barons of the North. The country, up to Lancaſhire and Yorkſhire, was already ravaged by the Scots. The caſtles were blockaded or already taken, and levelled to the ground, diſmantled or garriſoned. The invaders were rapidly urging onwards in their blaſting career†.

The clergy and barons prepare to oppoſe the Scots.

Yet, the northern clergy and barons, deriving courage from deſpair, made, in theſe circumſtances, another attempt to muſter an army, and to deliver their country. Bernard de Baliol came, northwards, at the command of Stephen, to join them

* J. Hagulſtad. P. 261:—R. Hagulſtad. P. 318.

† J. Hagulſtad. P. 261.

them, with a body of cavalry. Thurſtin, the aged archbiſhop, held an aſſembly at York: A ſolemn faſt was ſanctified for three days: The prieſts made proceſſions with croſſes, conſecrated-banners, and holy relics; Thoſe who were to go out againſt the enemy, made confeſſion of their ſins: Thurſtin gave his benediction, and committed into their hands, his archiepiſcopal croſier and ſtandard: Thus prepared and armed, they marched out, in the confidence of religion and of ardent patriotiſm, to meet the Scots. Thurſtin was too infirm, to go out at their head; but, the titular biſhop of the Orkneys, who was then with him, went as his vicegerent *.

Review of the Scottiſh army.

The Scots, in the mean time collected their ſcattered forces into one body. They amounted to no fewer than ſix and twenty thouſand men. But, they were looſe, irregular, undiſciplined, moſt of them without denfenſive armour; Scots, Angles, Galwegians, Strathclydians, Men of the Iſles; a mixed multitude, fitter to deſolate a defenceleſs country, and to maſſacre the feeble and unarmed, than to face an hoſtile army in equal combat. Their leaders, David, Henry his ſon, his nephew William the ſon of Duncan, and Euſtace Fitz-John, however prudent, and however gallant, could hard-



* R. Hagulſtad, P. 321:—Matth. Paris. P. 64.

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ly give union and energy in the field of battle to a body thus compoſed *.

Negotiations for Peace.

But, in the pride of conqueſt, and truſting in the ferocity, if not in the diſciplined valour of his followers; the King of the Scots ſcorned negotiation with thoſe who endeavoured to defend Yorkſhire, in the name of Stephen. Fearful of the event of a battle, thoſe Engliſh warriours ſent ſucceſſive embaſſies to the Scottiſh camp. Two barons—of names which were, one day, to be illuſtrious in the Scottiſh hiſtory,—Robert de Bruce, and Bernard de Baliol, came to intreat peace of David, on the condition of obtaining for his ſon Henry, the earldom of Northumberland, in fieff from Stephen. In his indignation at the diſdain with which this propoſal was rejected, de Bruce haughtily renounced the fealty which he had formerly ſworn to David, for his lordſhip of Annandale. Yet again, however, was de Bruce diſpatched by his confederates, to mollify, if poſſible, the rage of the king of the Scots, and to avert a battle of which the Engliſh ſtill dreaded the iſſue. His offers, intreaties, and perſuaſions were vain. Had David even been willing to grant peace, it would have been difficult to ſoothe the fierceneſs and reſtrain the impetuoſity of his nobles †.

The

* Aldred. de bello Standardi, P. 342. 345:—Matth. Paris. P. 64.

† Aldred. de bello Standardi, P. 343

The Engliſh prepare to engage.

The ſacred ſtandard fondly regarded by the Engliſh, as a pledge of heavenly aid, was erected on Cutton-moor, near North-Allerton. A pole, tall as the maſt of a ſhip, was raiſed upon an high, four-wheeled carriage: On its top was a caſket containing a conſecrated hoſt: The banners of St Peter of York, of St John of Beverly, and of St William of Rippon hung down its ſides. Ranged around this ſtandard, did the Engliſh await the onſet of their enemies. The voice of religion encouraged them to fight in confidence of victory, and in the full aſſurance of the happineſs of heaven, if they ſhould glorioufly fall, in the cauſe of God and of their Country. They had perhaps a ſurer ſource of confidence in knowing, that, accoutred as they themſelves chiefly were, in complete armour; they had a naked, diſorderly enemy to oppoſe. The leaders paſſionately harangued their ſoldiers, and vowed, that they would conquer or periſh *.

Order of the Scots.

The Scots, in the meantime, ſilently advanced, under the concealment of a thick miſt. They were all impatient to engage; and a fierce emulation of valour among the different troops of which this motley army was compoſed, inflamed the native courage of them all. In the van, Ulric and Donald, Lords of Galloway, led on their Galwegians: Next



* Aldred. de bello Standard. P. 339.

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advanced the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, under the command of Fitz-John and Prince Henry: The troops of Lothian and the Iſles followed: The king himſelf, with the genuine Scots and the men of Moray, led on the rear *.

Battle in which the Scots are defeated. A. D. 1138. Aug. 22.

The Galwegians ruſhed upon the enemy, with loud cries of wild rage. Their firſt onſet was irreſiſtibly impetuous. Already had they ſhaken, and almoſt broken through the Engliſh ſpearmen, when they were annoyed to terrour and confuſion, by the attack of the archers. Their chieftains fell. They were fleeing in diſorder, when Prince Henry came up, to ſupport them, and broke through the Engliſh ſquadron. The Galwegians rallying, purſued his career. But, at the important moment, when the Scots were ready to raiſe the ſhout of victory; an arm held aloft a bloody head; a voice exclaimed, "the head of the king of the Scots!" the Galwegians threw down their arms; the men of Lothian fled, without having once aimed a weapon at the foe; David in vain attempted to ſtop the panic, and to bring up thoſe troops which he had reſerved in the rear. It was too late; the battle was already irrecoverably loſt. His nobles hurried their king from the danger. And the fugitive army at laſt rallied round the royal ſtandard, ſo as to check the purſuit of

* Aldred. de bello Standardi, P. 343.

of the victors. The inhabitants of the country which they had ravaged, ſeizing the hour for revenge, cut off numbers of the Scots, in their ſtraggling flight. The king, with the remains of the army, reached Carliſle. It was not till after he had here paſſed ſome days of extreme anxiety for the fate of his ſon, that this prince, eſcaping through many hazards, joined him *.

Shame and anger of the Scots.

All was tumult and diſſention among the routed Scots. They who had boaſted their heroiſm before the battle, knew not how to meet each others eyes after a ſhameful flight. Each ſtroye to excuſe himſelf by accuſing others. Each fiercely rejected and retaliated reproach. They who had been the firſt to flee, were the loudeſt in the clamour of "miſconduct, treachery, cowardice!" At laſt the king, more by the exertion of his wiſdom, than of his authority, ſoothed the tumult, and called them from mutual recriminations on account of the paſt, to generous reſolutions for the future. With one accord they ardently vowed, "To periſh with him, to a man, rather than again deſert him!" He then led them to the ſiege of Werk-caſtle †.

In

* J. Hagulſtad, 262:—Aldred, 345, 346:—Fordun. L. v. C. 42:—Matth. Paris. P. 64.

† R. Hagulſtad. 323. 326.

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In this age, war had not yet learned to ſeek a reconciliation with humanity. The barbarian ſoldier knew not, while he was the inſtrument of public hatred, to bear about him, on the field of death, any ſentiments of compaſſion or generous tenderneſs to individuals. But the meek ſpirit of Chriſtianity began to ſoften the ferocity of war. The ſuperſtition of Rome was well adapted to ſoothe and awe the barbarian mind. While David lay with his army before Werk-caſtle, Alberic, the Legate of Rome, came, to ſolicit him to conſent to a Peace with England: For, it ſhould ſeem, that the Engliſh regarded their late victory, rather as a temporary eſcape, than as any ſecurity againſt the future invaſion of the Scots. David was, with little difficulty, perſuaded to abſtain, for ſome months, from all hoſtilities, except againſt Werk-caſtle. The Galwegians ſent back the women whom they had carried away captives. The whole Scottiſh army ſolemnly vowed, "never again ſacrilegiouſly to violate the ſeats of religion, nor maſſacre the feeble and defenceleſs." David, who, however urged by policy, was not, of his natural temper, inclined to ſhed the blood, or to ſpread the deſolation of war, ſhewed himſelf ready to prevent the complaints of the Clergy eſpecially, who came to implore redreſs of the injuries which they had ſuffered from his marauding ſoldiers. The abbey of Hexham had,

Humanity of David; and counſels of the Legate.

upon

upon a former occaſion, been pillaged by his army, and had obtained compenſation from his pious horrour at the ſacrilege. Similar injuries were now atoned for, to the ſame abbey, by a like reparation. It is probable, that a perſuaſion, that their late defeat was the vengeance of Heaven upon their ſacrilege and barbarity, might co-operate, in no mean degree, with the exhortations of the Legate, and with the natural remorſe of the human heart for the commiſſion of injuſtice, to induce the Scottiſh king and his army to make reſtitution of their plunder, and to reſolve againſt future outrages *.

Werk-caſtle taken.

After a gallant and obſtinate defence, Werk-caſtle was ſurrendered to the Scots. The captors razed its walls to the ground. Thoſe of the defenders who had ſurvived to capitulate, were generouſly furniſhed, by David, with neceſſaries, and diſmiſſed in ſafety. Having thus effaced the diſgrace of his late defeat, the Scottiſh king led his army home, to await the expiration of the truce to which he had conſented †.

A peace concluded.

A peace was, ſoon after, negotiated and concluded, at Durham, between David and Stephen. The Engliſh king granted the earldom of Northumberland,

* R. Hagulſtad. 325;—J. Kagulſtad. 264. &c.

† R. Hagulſtad. 326.

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land, in fieff to Prince Henry of Scotland; retaining only the caſtle of Bamburgh and Newcaſtle, as pledges for the fidelity of ſo potent a vaſſal; and even for theſe, Henry was to receive another grant of lands in the ſouth of England. Hoſtages were delivered to Stephen, by the Scots, as a ſecurity for their faithful obſervance of this treaty. David, defeated in his purpoſe of preſſing onwards, till he could join the friends of Matilda, in the ſouth, and dethrone the uſurper; might be pleaſed to ſecure, at leaſt his own intereſts, by gaining from Stephen, all that he could have hoped even from his Niece. And to Stephen, on the other hand, whoſe throne ſtill tottered under him, peace with ſo formidable an enemy as David, would not ſeem too dearly purchaſed at the expence of a province.—Cumberland was ſtill held by David, either in unqueſtioned ſovereignty, or for Matilda *.

Gallantry and friendſhip of Stephen and Prince Henry. A. D. 1129.

Prince Henry, again the willing vaſſal of Stephen, went, to attend him at Nottingham, for the ratification of the treaty. From Nottingham, the new earl of Northumberland accompanied his ſovereign lord, to the ſiege of Ludlow-caſtle, in Wales. Amid the perils of the ſiege, Henry was, at one time, dragged from his horſe, by (what may appear a ſingular weapon) an iron hook extended from the wall;

* R. Hagulſtad. 329, 330.—Matth. Paris, 64.—Fordun. L. V. C. 42

wall; and had it not been for the gallantry with which Stephen himſelf haſtened to his reſcue, he muſt have periſhed by the accident.—The prince, ſoon after the event of this ſiege, married Ada, the daughter of the earl of Surrey, and with her returned to Scotland. Had it not been now again, for the friendly precautions of Stephen, the royal pair would have been ſurprized and ſeized by an angry baron, on their way *. Sect. I. Ch. IV.

War with the people of the Iſles. A. D. 1141.

About this time, the people of the Iſles were excited by Wimund, a turbulent monk, to harraſs the Scots, on their north-weſtern frontier. From the abbey of Forneſs, in Lancaſhire. Wimund had been ſent, with other monks, to Ruſſin, in the iſle of Man. Encouraged by the diſorderly and reſtleſs character, no leſs than by the credulity of the iſlanders; he ſoon forſook the cloiſter; called himſelf the ſon of the earl of Moray who had been ſlain at Strickathrow; artfully won the favour of the chieftains of the iſles; and at laſt obtained in marriage the daughter of Somerled, lord of Argyle, and of the northern iſles. Thus allied, he came, to purſue his pretenſions to the earldom of Moray; and invaded Scotland, while the great force of the Scottiſh nation was engaged, at a diſtance, in the Engliſh

* J. Hagulſtad. 268.——The *angry baron* was Ranulph, Earl of Cheſter, who had pretenſions to Carliſle-caſtle, lately granted to Henry,

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liſh wars. For a while, he ravaged the Scottiſh coaſts, ſlaughtered the inhabitants of the country, and raiſed heavy contributions even upon thoſe whom he ſpared. Troops were ſent againſt him: But, he dexterouſly eluded their attempts to draw him to an engagement. At length, expoſing himſelf to the attack of one of the biſhops of the North, who denied him a demanded contribution; he was felled to the earth by a hatchet thrown from the biſhop's own hand; his followers were driven into flight; and he himſelf, when he recovered from the effect of the blow, with difficulty eſcaped. Becoming, afterwards odious to his own people, his eyes were put out, his manhood mutilated, and he was betrayed into the power of David. The humanity of this good monarch or of his ſucceſſor granted to an enemy once troubleſome, but now harmleſs, after a time of impriſonment, a ſafe and comfortable, monaſtic retreat for the reſt of his days *.

David viſits Matilda in London. A. D. 1141.

A TRANSIENT viciſſitude of ſucceſs placed Matilda, for a moment, on the throne of England, and conſigned Stephen to a dungeon. David, ſtill faithful, rather to the intereſts of his Neice, than to his treaties with her rival, repaired, in perſon, to London,

* W. Newbr. I. 79—83:—Fordun. VIII. C. 2:—Matth. Paris P. 71

don, to congratulate her acceſſion. But, ſcarcely had he joined her, when her power was at an end; and, but for the fidelity of a godſon, who, at his own hazard, conveyed the monarch, his godfather, ſafe to Scotland, David had here fallen into the hands of enraged enemies. Yet, when young Henry, the ſon of Matilda, came, ſome years after this, to Carliſle, to ſolicit the honour of knighthood from the hand of his grand-uncle; the Scottiſh king received him with all the kindneſs of conſanguinity and friendſhip; entertained him, with the higheſt honours; and eſpouſed the cauſe of the heir of Matilda's rights, with all his ancient ardour. New plans of conqueſt, and conditions of alliance were concerted and ratified between them. Some inroads of the Scots into Stephen's territories, followed; but, nothing remarkable was accompliſhed *.

David's civil government, and liberality to the Church.

David's genius was yet better qualified to earn the milder glories of peaceful government, than to guide the ſtorm of war. His heart ſtill melted at the ſufferings of the vanquiſhed. In remorſe for the bloodſhed of his military expeditions, he wiſhed to have laid down his crown, and gone, in pilgrimage, to end his days on the ſpot, where the Saviour of Men was crucified. But, the indiſpenſible duties of his condition detained him. Either in his

 wiſdom,

* J. Hagulſtad. P. 270, 271.

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wiſdom, or in the more luminous intelligence o the Age in which he lived, did many of the moſt be neficial of the ancient laws and inſtitutions of Scot land take their origin. Several burghs obtaine charters from him. The biſhoprics of Roſs an Dunkeld were by him erected. He had founde the monaſtery of Selkirk, in the reign of his bro ther Alexander. In the courſe of his own reign he tranſlated the monks of Selkirk to Kelſo, an eſtabliſhed ſucceſſively the abbies of Holyroodhouſe Melros, New-bottle, Cambuſkenneth, Kinloſs, Dry burgh, Jedburgh. He was alſo the founder of the priory of Leſmahago, a dependency upon Kelſo, and of a convent for nuns, at Berwick upon Tweed In his reign, too, were the Knights-Templars eſta bliſhed at Temple in Lothian; the Knights of St John of Jeruſalem, at Torphichen in Linlithgow ſhire. Beſide all theſe, David beſtowed numerous other benefactions on the Church. It might indeed be miſtaken piety which made him thus laviſh to the Clergy: But, in that age, the moſt enlightened policy could have deviſed no happier meaſure for improving the cultivation of his kingdom, and ci vilizing the ſpirit of his people; The clergy alone managed their lands with intelligence and induſtry; Their poſſeſſions were often ſpared as ſacred, while all others were deſolated amidſt the inceſſant rava ges and depopulation of war foreign and inteſtine

Nor

Nor would any thing leſs powerfully ſubjugating than the yoke of ſuperſtition, have been ſufficient to tame the ferocity of barbarians *.

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The pious cares of David were interrupted by a heavy domeſtic misfortune.—His queen died within ſeven years after his acceſſion to the throne; and he had lived, ever ſince, in chaſte widowhood. Henry, his only child, as he grew up, had been diſtinguiſhed as the wiſeſt, the braveſt, the gentleſt prince of the age in which he lived: the aſſiſtant of his father's government, and the companion of his wars: the delight of the Scottiſh nation, and the admiration of ſtrangers. While David was gradually reſigning the reins of government into the hands of a ſon ſo deſervedly beloved; and while the Scots were pleaſing themſelves with the proſpect of ſeeing one wiſe and good king ſucceeded by another of equal worth and wiſdom: Henry ſuddenly died, on the twelfth day of June, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and fifty-two. He left, by his wife, Ada, five infant children; Malcolm, William, David, ſons, of whom the two former ſucceſſively reigned in Scotland; Mary and Matildis, daughters †.

Death of Prince Henry. A. D. 1152.

But,

* Fordun. L. V. C. 41. 45, 46, 47, &c:—Major. L. III. C. 11, &c.

† Fordun. L. V. C. 43, 44:—Major. L. III. C. 11.

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Last acts of David.

But, David was, by this time, of that advanced age, which, from frequent experience of the viciſſitudes of life, is leſs ſenſibly touched by misfortune. Piety had alſo bent his ſpirit to reſignation. He bore the loſs of his ſon, without weak dejection or unmanly ſorrow. The afflicted father was the firſt to adminiſter conſolation to the weeping family and friends of the deceaſed prince. Leſt the rights of his grand-children ſhould be diſregarded, after his own death: he ſent young Malcolm on a progreſs through the kingdom, that he might be proclaimed and recognized as heir to the Scottiſh Crown; and having deſtined to William, the inheritance of his Engliſh territories, he took meaſures equally judicious, to ſecure to him, the ready ſubmiſſion of the Cumbrian and Northumbrian barons*.

Death of David. A. D. 1153.

Hardly had he accompliſhed the diſtribution of the inheritances of his grand-children, and the proviſions which ſeemed moſt likely to ſecure to them, an undiſturbed ſucceſſion to the enjoyment of their rights; when his ſtrength which had for ſome time, declined under the infirmities of age, now wholly failed him; and he was found dead in an attitude of prayer, in the morning of the twenty-fourth of

* Fordun. V. 44:—Major. III. 11.

of May, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and fifty-three*. Sect. I. Ch. IV.

We have ſeen, by the ſeries of David's actions, that he was a man of conſiderable ability no leſs for war, than for the duties of peace. The diſtracted condition of England during his reign, was favourable to his ambition: and to have added a province to the dominions of his family, was the glory of David, as a conqueror. He ſeems to have been more honeſt than politic; for he adhered to the cauſe of Matilda and her ſon, with a ſteadineſs which was at times injurious to his own intereſts. It was neceſſity, not ungenerous policy, which urged him repeatedly to treat with Stephen. The purity of his private manners equalled the uprightneſs of his public conduct. He was affable and eaſy of acceſs. In the diſtribution of juſtice, he was ſingularly diligent and impartial. His piety might, in ſome inſtances, be weakneſs: but, how amiable a weakneſs originating in piety, mild and benevolent as his! In his views of improving the manners and the condition of his people, he was certainly as liberal as any contemporary prince. If not a great man, of a genius extenſive, elevated, heroic: he was, however, a good and prudent king. Character of David.

Chap.

* Fordun. L. V. C. 44:—Major. L. III. C. 11.

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## Chapter V.

### *Malcolm* IV.

Acceſſion of Malcolm and ſtate of the government. A. D. 1153.

A BOY, in his twelfth year, ſucceeded on the Scottiſh throne. The government fell by conſequence, into the hands of a turbulent nobility, ever at variance among themſelves; more careful each of his perſonal intereſts, than of the national honour; differing in their views of public utility; and diſobedient all to the royal authority, becauſe they thought, each, whatever might be enjoined by others, as the will of the monarch, to be only the proud command of rival ſubjects*.

Invaſions of Sumerled and the Iſlanders.

THE neighbours of the Scots were not ſlow to ſeize the occaſion which the feeble, inefficient government of a Minor afforded againſt them. Somerled, Lord of Argyle and the Hebudæ was the firſt enemy that ſtirred againſt young Malcolm. This lord being deſcended from the ancient royal family of the Iſles, had boldly riſen in arms againſt the King who reigned in Man, and had wreſted from him, the Hebudæ, the better half of his kingdom. Againſt Scotland, his ſon-in-law, Wimund, had not been equally ſucceſsful. It was of pretence to

* Fordun. VIII. C. 1, 2. &c. Chron. Melroſs.

to profecute the rights of Wimund's children, that Somerled came now againſt the Scots. For a ſeries of years, he continued to infeſt and alarm ſometimes the coaſts, ſometimes the interior country of Scotland, where it lay adjacent to his own territories, with various ſucceſs; till his forces were, at laſt, defeated with terrible ſlaughter, and he himſelf, with his ſon Gillcolin ſlain, at Renfrew, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty-four *.



In the mean time, a more formidable enemy aroſe, to annoy the Scots on their ſouthern frontier. Stephen of England ended an unhappy reign, without being able to tranſmit the ſceptre in his own family. He was ſucceeded by Henry II. the ſon of Matilda. Henry ambitious of exalting his power, and of enlarging his dominions on all ſides, diſregarded his promiſes to David, and demanded from *his* grandſons, the ceſſion of their Engliſh fiefs; which they, in their preſent condition, had neither force nor policy to withhold. Malcolm went to attend the Engliſh king at Cheſter; ſurrendered to him, the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland; and did homage for Huntingdon, the only poſſeſſion of his family, in England, which he was permitted to retain. The Scots murmured againſt

Increachments of the Engliſh.

 theſe

* Fordun. VIII. 2.—Major. IV. 4:—Chr. Mauniæ apud Camdenum.

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theſe conceſſions of their young king. But, what Henry had once acquired, was not to be wreſted from him. To obtain from his hands, the honour of knighthood, Malcolm afterwards followed him into France, and fought under his banner. The Scots beheld with indignation, while their ſovereign attended, as an obſequious vaſſal, on his more powerful and politic rival. They recalled him home with a ſummons which he did not venture to diſregard. Soon after his return, a band of conſpirators from among his nobles whom he had convoked, to meet him in parliament, at Perth, ſought to ſeize his perſon: And the conſequences might have been fatal: But, he was ſaved by the timely interpoſition of the Clergy; and harmony reſtored *.

The Galwegians repulſed and ſubdued.

THE Galwegian chieftains had fallen, ſince the reduction of the capital of Strathclyde, into an uncertain dependence upon the Scottiſh monarchy. When at peace with the Scots, they did homage to their ſovereigns, and ſerved occaſionally in their armies. In the Engliſh wars, they were diſtinguiſhed equally by diſorderly valour and ſavage rapacity. With the Scots, their intercourſe was oftener hoſtile, than peaceable. They then ſcornfully renounced dependence, and ravaged the country of Scotland, with a fury that was exaſperated, not mitigated

* Fordun. VIII. 3. 4: R. Hoveden, 491, 492: Chron. S. Crucis.

gated, by the relations of neighbourhood, and the remembrance of former familiarity. While the counſels of the Scots were diſtracted; and enemies aroſe againſt Malcolm, on all ſides, within and without his dominions; the Galwegians, taking part with the Iſlanders, and with Somerled, whoſe fate has been related, rejected all alliance with the Scots, and ravaged that ſide of Malcolm's kingdom which lay contiguous to their country. Malcolm took arms to chaſtiſe and repreſs them. Twice he invaded Galloway; and was as often obliged to retire from a region of which the interior mountains, marſhes, and foreſts were hardly acceſſible to any but their native inhabitants, and before a people, whoſe mode of fighting was impetuous and diſorderly, as being thus beſt adapted to their local circumſtances. He returned againſt them, a third time. They could withſtand his arms no longer. Fergus, reſigning the Lordſhip of Galloway to his ſon Uchtred, retired himſelf, to end his days in the abbey of the Holy-Rood. Uchtred did homage to Malcolm, and ſurrendered himſelf into his hands. From this time, the Galwegians fell, ſtill more and more under ſubjection to the Scots; till they were, at length, undiſtinguiſhably intermingled with their conquerors; and their ancient independence was forgotten *.

A. D. 1162.



* Forduni Scotichron. L. VIII. C. 4: Chron. Sanctæ Crucis, apud Angliam Sacram. V. I. P. 161, 162.

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In this age of disjointed governments, one province or feudal lord inceſſantly broke out into rebellion, through all the monarchies in Europe, as another was ſubdued. The inhabitants of Moray roſe in arms againſt Malcolm's government, ſoon after he had conquered the Galwegians. They were of Daniſh origin: They had frequent correſpondence, as it ſhould ſeem, with the Daniſh inhabitants of the Orkneys and the Hebudæ, and probably, too, with their parent ſtock in Scandinavia. It might be in concert with the Iſlanders and the Galwegians, that they now rebelled. Their inſurrection was ſpeedily quaſhed. They ſuffered confiſcations, and other puniſhments which appeared adequate to their guilt, and ſufficient to diſable them from future turbulence*.

A rebellion of the inhabitants of Moray repreſſed. A. D. 1161.

Portions granted by the Scottiſh Parliament to the ſiſters of Malcolm.

The ſupreme legiſlative body of the Scottiſh nation had, by this time, aſſumed a regular, feudal form. Not content with ſharing in the ſimple legiſlative authority, the nobles and burgeſſes in parliament took part alſo, in the executive; at leaſt whenever a monarch was weak enough to endure their incroachments, or ſo wiſe as to aſk their aſſiſtance and advice. Malcolm ſolicited the conſent of his parliament to the marriages of his ſiſter, Margaret with Conan, Count of Brittany,—Ada to Florence, Count of Holland,—at the ſame time when

* Forduni Scotichron. L. VIII. C. 6: Major L. IV. C. 4. Folio. 58.

when he demanded subsidies for marriage-portions to the princesses*.

Malcolm does homage anew to Henry.

Again, Malcolm owning himself the vassal of the English king, repaired to *his* Court, and did homage to Henry and his infant son. But, the Scottish Clergy, at the same time, more pertinaciously strove to vindicate their national church from dependence upon that of England. The archbishop of York obtained from Pope Alexander III. the powers of a papal Legate, over Scotland. The Scottish Clergy evaded submission to his authority by an appeal to the Pope himself †.

Death and character of Malcolm. A. D. 1165.

Malcolm was cut off in the flower of his age. In the first years of his reign, he was misled by counsellors attached to the interests of England, and by admiration of the splendid qualities of Henry. After his return from France, he appears to have extricated himself with sufficient ability and address, out of those difficulties in which his early political errors had entangled him. In his last years, his health had probably become feeble: he declined into unmanly superstition: and his brother William, had already pre-occupied the government, by the general encouragement of the nation, when

* Forduni Scotichron. L. VIII. C. 7: Chr. S. Crucis.

† Diceto. P. 536.: Excerpta ex Chron. Scot. Folio 85. M. S. S.

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when Malcolm died, on the 28th of December, in the year one thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty-five. It was in the twelfth year of his reign, and the twenty-fourth of his life; a period too ſhort to have afforded him time for the formation of ſteady habits of thought and action. Yet, had not Henry artfully gained an undue aſcendency over his inexperienced youth, he might have been one of the moſt popular, as he was certainly one of the moſt gallant of the Scottiſh monarchs *.

## Chapter VI.

### *William.*

Acceſſion and firſt acts of William. A. D. 1165—6.

WILLIAM, already poſſeſſed of the regal authority, was crowned, inſtantly after his brother's death. The nation might expect from him the recovery of thoſe territories which had been, with too ready facility, ceded by Malcolm. But, at the demand of the reſtitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, Henry only amuſed William with pretences, and ſoothed him with promiſes; till the honeſt Scot was inticed to follow the crafty Norman into

* Chron. Melros. P. 169: Fordun. L. VIII. C. 6. 10. 11.

into France, and there to ſerve a campaign under his banners *. Sect. I. Ch. VI.

William ſoon found, that no voluntary conceſſions were to be hoped from the man with whom he had to deal. He returned indignant; and ſhortly after, ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit the alliance of the French monarch againſt the king of England. Yet, a war with the Engliſh was not the inſtant conſequence. William, with his brother David, again attended Henry at Windſor; they did homage, at his command, to his ſon Henry, raiſed, at this time, by his father's fondneſs, to royal honours; and the dignity of Knighthood was conferred upon David †. Negotiations with the Kings of France and England.

At length, an opportunity aroſe, which ſeemed to invite William to right himſelf by force of arms. Young Henry aſpired to ſhare his father's power, and ſought to wreſt from him violently, that which he would not voluntarily reſign. A confederacy was formed, under the auſpices of the king of France, to compel the king of England to ſhare his dominions with his children and his rival neighbours. William joined the confederacy. The younger Henry granted, what was not his own to give; William joins a confederacy againſt Henry. A. D. 1173.

* Chron. Melros. 170.: Fordun. VIII. 12, 13.
† Fordun. VIII. 12: Benedict. Abb. P. 4, 5.

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give; to William the earldom of Northumberland; to David that of Cambridge. The Scots, upon this, invaded England *.

Hoſtilities between the Scots and Engliſh.

They beſieged, but could not take Werk-caſtle and Carliſle. After waſting the circumjacent country, they returned home, without having made any tenable conqueſt. They were followed by an Engliſh army, who, in like manner, ravaged the frontier countries of Scotland. A truce was then concluded, which for a time delivered the Scots from the evils of invaſion, and allowed the Engliſh to return to domeſtic war †.

William made priſoner by the Engliſh. A. D. 1144.

The truce expired. David, by the conceſſion of his brother, now Earl of Huntingdon, was invited to lead the partizans of Young Henry in the ſouth. William led an army into Northumberland. The greater part of this army ſpread over the country, to plunder and deſtroy; while the king himſelf, with a ſelect body, aſſumed the care of watching the motions, and checking the excurſions of the Engliſh garriſon in Alnwick-caſtle. Meanwhile, the barons of Yorkſhire advanced to meet the invaders; not waiting inactive, till their own fields ſhould be waſted

* Benedict. Abbas. P. 51: Fordun. L. VIII. C. 21.

† Fordun. S. Chron. L. VIII. C. 21: Chron. Melros. 172: W. Newbr. 296.

waſted, and their own houſes ſet on fire. Thoſe who thus came on, were, in all, but four hundred horſemen. They preſſed impatiently forward; ſcorning to halt, on account of either darkneſs or fatigue, till they ſhould be within ſight of the enemy. William was not aware of their approach. He was at ſome diſtance from his own ſcattered army, with only a ſlender troop of ſixty perſons in his company. To his eye, the Engliſh ſeemed, at firſt, but a party of his own men, coming in from the ſpoil of the country. Inſtantly ſenſible of his miſtake, he however charged them, with more gallantry of valour, than prudence. His valour was vain. He and his companions were ſoon their priſoners. He was ſecured beyond the chance of a reſcue. Several of his barons who came up, when it was too late, could only ſurrender themſelves, to ſhare his captivity. He was firſt confined in the caſtle of Richmond, but afterwards, by the caution of Henry, ſent to Falaiſe in Normandy *.

The Scots redeem their king at the price of the national independency.

The Scots of William's army, having, in their firſt conſternation and rage, maſſacred ſome Engliſhmen, their fellow-ſoldiers, whom they ſuſpected of having betrayed him, then abandoned their ſpoils, and retreated precipitately home. David of Huntingdon, at the news of his brother's captivity, haſtened



* Chron. Melroſs. P. 173; Fordun. VIII. 22. W. Newbr. 212—215.

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tened from Leiceſter, and returned to Scotland. The Scottiſh nobles ſoon agreed with him, to purchaſe the freedom of their monarch by ſurrendering the national independency. William ſcorned not to accept his liberation on terms ſo humiliating. He, with his clergy and barons, did homage to Henry at York; For, the Scottiſh Clergy were compelled to an equivocal confeſſion of the ſupremacy of the Engliſh Church, at the ſame time when the Nobles and their ſovereign betrayed the independence of the kingdom; but being more ſubtle and crafty than the nobles, and having a foreign Pontiff to appeal to, the Clergy would conſent to no verbal ſubmiſſion which was not expreſſed in language to which they might afterwards aſcribe a very different import. To gain efficacy to this treaty, the Engliſh king alſo required as pledges, the caſtles of Rokeſburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; while David of Huntingdon and other Scottiſh nobles were delivered up to him, as hoſtages. Thus ignominiouſly was William's deliverance purchaſed. But, he was dear to his ſubjects, and to a brother who would not ſupplant him; And Henry was well ſkilled to profit to the utmoſt by every advantage which the courſe of events put into his hands, no leſs than to extricate himſelf with as little diſadvantage as poſſible

out

out of any difficulties in which he might be entangled *. SECT. I. CH. VI.

Ecclesiastical disputes which ended in vindicating and confirming rather than subverting the freedom of the Scottish church, were the first public transactions of importance which passed in Scotland, after William's return from his captivity. He, in the mean time, founded the abbey of Aberbrothock in honour of his friend, Thomas a Becket, who had lately suffered a violent death which his contemporaries esteemed martyrdom. An insurrection in Ross-shire shortly after demanded the presence of the king, to repress it; and he established, at this time, two garrisons for the future support of the royal authority in that wild and remote province. A contention with the Pope concerning the filling of a vacancy of the See of St Andrew's, and with some of the English Clergy, as instruments of the Pope's authority,—tried William's firmness and political address for several years immediately subsequent to the last event. It ended, at length, in a compromise, in which William and the Pope satisfied each other by mutual concessions. The earldom of Huntingdon forfeited by William and David

Transactions for some year subsequent to William's return out of captivity.



* Fordun. VIII. 24: Rymer's Fœdera. T. I. P. 39. R. de Diceto, &c.

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vid, when they took arms againſt Henry, was about this ſame time, reſtored to them *.

Diſturbances in Galloway, and pacification of thoſe diſturbances. A. D. 1186.

In the preceding reign, the Galwegians had indeed been ſubdued, but not civilized. They were ſtill the ſame ſavage, ferocious race. The people could not, at a bidding, adopt the manners of the Scots. Their lords could not at once forget, how lately they had been independent ſovereigns. In the general diſorder during William's captivity, the Galwegians threw off the Scottiſh yoke. Then dreading the vengeance of the Scots, they proffered their immediate homage to Henry. They were, in the mean time, diſtracted by inteſtine diſſenſion: and one of two brothers, their lords, was treacherouſly murthered by the contrivance of the other. William invaded their country. By his authority, a temporary pacification was accompliſhed; and the Galwegians returned, for a time, to their allegiance. It was not long, however, till Gilbert who had murthered his brother, impetuouſly entered Scotland with an hoſtile army. But, his death ſoon opened room for Roland, the ſon of the murdered Uchtred, and the partizan of William, to recover the poſſeſſions and authority of his father. With the bold ambition of the deceaſed Gilbert, Roland graſped alſo at the inheritance of Duncan, Gilbert's ſon. The king of England interpoſed, to protect Duncan. Roland

* Fordun, VIII. 25. 28: Chron. Melroſ. 174: R. Hovden, 599, &c.

Roland was thus compelled to yield up Carrick, and to content himſelf with the poſſeſſion of that territory which ſtill retains the name of Galloway. Both Roland and Duncan ſeem to have now acknowledged themſelves, the vaſſals of the Scottiſh king *.

Marriage of William, with other tranſactions.

The ſubſequent years of William's vaſſalage paſſed without many remarkable events, to diſtinguiſh them. He accepted in marriage from the hand of Henry, Ermengarde, the grandchild of an illegitimate daughter of Henry's grandfather. He defeated and ſlew Donald Bane, a deſcendent of Duncan, the ſon of Malcolm Canmore; who aſpiring to uſurp the throne, had ſeized Roſs, and ravaged Moray. The long-continued ſtruggle of the Scottiſh Clergy, to emancipate the national Church from dependence upon that of England, now ended ſucceſsfully and Clement the Third, by his Papal authority, declared the Scottiſh church to be free from all ſubjection, unleſs immediately to the See of Rome. Henry having offered to reſtore the caſtles of Roxburgh and Berwick, but at a rate at which the Scots and their king refuſed to purchaſe them; thoſe fortreſſes remained ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh, at the time of his death, in the year one thouſand one hundred and eighty nine. With the death of Henry,

* Fordun. VIII. 25, &c.

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ry, terminated the feudal ſubjection of Scotland to England *.

The Cruſades.

This was the age of the Cruſades. Religion mingling its influence on ſocial life, with that of the feudal government, of the abſence of induſtry and arts, and of almoſt inceſſant wars, had produced, among the warriours of Europe, a generous ardour for perilous adventure by which wrongs might be redreſſed, or weakneſs protected,—a heroiſm panting for that praiſe which the holy and the gentle would beſtow on their defenders and deliverers. While this ſpirit was kindling in every young warriour's breaſt, the voice of ſuperſtitious piety loudly invoked the gallant and the zealous to reſcue the Holy Land from the profane uſurpation of infidels. The ſcene on which chiefly had the revelations of Heaven been communicated to men, and which had been ſanctified by the preſence, by the miracles and the ſufferings of the Son of God, ſeemed, in the eye of ſuperſtition, to be the common patrimony of Chriſtians, a ſort of central temple, where they might all meet and worſhip together. The recovery of this territory out of the unhallowed hands into which it had fallen, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious ſervice in the ſight of God, that chriſtians could perform: Every crime might thus

* Chron. Melroſs. P. 106: Fordun VIII. 28: R. Hoveden 651.

thus be atoned: A treaſure of merit might, at the ſame time, be acquired, ſufficient to compenſate for all ſubſequent errors: To have, before death, formed barely the purpoſe of going, in martial pilgrimage to the Holy Land, gave new confidence to the dying ſinner: He who had already begun his expedition, died in full aſſurance of immediate happineſs in Heaven: He who fell in combat with the Infidels, breathed his laſt in higher rapture, than the ancient Celtic and Scanian heroes who laughed, with proud joy, in death: To die on the ſpot where the Saviour of the world was crucified, was ſimply to paſs from one region of felicity to another. No ſoul could reſiſt theſe allurements. Glory fired the hopes and wiſhes of the warriour. But, fear, remorſe, the tender meltings of penitence, and the certainty of a licence to commit favourite crimes, operated upon all conditions, characters, ages, and ſexes; and all were willing to enter upon a journey to heaven, which promiſed, at the ſame time, ample gratification to their deareſt earthly paſſions. Of theſe adventurers, famine, fatigue, and diſeaſe cut off vaſt numbers in the firſt expeditions. But, the exciting motives ſtill continued to operate. Jeruſalem had been conquered and loſt; the Chriſtians of the Weſt had been compelled by the arms of the Saracens, to relinquiſh moſt of the principalities which they had eſtabliſhed in Aſia; when a ſixth

cruſade

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cruſade was preached in Europe; and the Sovereigns of Germany, France, and England were excited to ſeek the mingled glory of piety and heroiſm, on the plains of Paleſtine, already ſo often deluged with blood *.

The kingdom of Scotland freed from its feudal dependance on England. A. D. 1189.

Richard of England, before he ſhould join this expedition, was willing to ſecure, if poſſible, the tranquillity of his dominions, during his intended abſence. Money was alſo to be procured, by whatever means, for defraying the expences of his adventure. He invited the Scottiſh king to his court at Canterbury; and, for a ſtipulated compenſation of ten thouſand merks *ſterling*, releaſed him and his kingdom from that feudal dependency on England, into which they had been reduced by his captivity; reſtored the caſtles, alſo, of Roxburgh and Berwick; and engaged to put William ſpeedily in poſſeſſion of any other parts of his ancient property, which might yet remain in the hands of the Engliſh. David, the brother of the king of the Scots, took the croſs, and followed Richard to the Holy Land †.

Unfortunate adventures of David, Earl of Huntington.

David was little leſs unfortunate in this expedition, than the monarch whoſe banners he followed. He was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Egypt; purchaſed

* Matth. Paris, paſſim, ab initio; & ſub Ricardo primo, &c.

† Benedict. Abbas, 575.—Rymeri Fœdera, I. 64.—Matth. Paris, &c.

ſed from ſlavery by a Venetian; redeemed from this man, at Conſtantinople, by ſome Engliſh merchants; after eſcaping through many ſubſequent perils, in his return home, again ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but welcomed, at laſt, from adventures ſo various and unfortunate, with a kindneſs of his royal brother, and his ancient friends, warm, as if he had returned rich with ſpoils, and illuſtrious from victories. It was nearly on the ſituation of the future town of Dundee, that he landed. Receiving from the king, a grant of a certain extent of the circumjacent territory, he became the founder of that town. The monaſtery of Lindores, and a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Dundee were monuments of his pious gratitude to heaven for his preſervation *.

Domeſtic tranſactions. Diſturbances in Caithneſs.

William continued to employ his cares in eſtabliſhing the intereſts of his family, and maintaining the authority of his government. His nobles did homage to his daughter, at this time the apparent heireſs of his dominions. De Moreville, conſtable of the kingdom, dying, was ſucceeded in this great office, by Roland, lord of Galloway; by whom it ſeems to have been inherited, in the right of his wife, the ſiſter of de Moreville. A new coinage al-



* Chron. Melroſ. 178.——Boethii XIII. 276.——Small's Statiſt. Account of Dundee.

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tered the character of the Scottiſh money. A rebellion ariſing in Caithneſs, the king marched, in perſon, to ſuppreſs it; By his activity, the rebels were ſpeedily diſconcerted and diſperſed; riſing again in arms, they were again routed by the king's forces, near Inverneſs; Roderic, one of their leaders, ſlain; and his brother Torphin made captive, emaſculated, deprived of ſight, and caſt, to periſh in a dungeon *.

A. D. 1197.

Diſputes with England. A. D. 1209.

JOHN, King of England, the brother and ſucceſſor of Richard, again turned the jealouſy of his nation againſt the Scots. William had done homage to this monarch for the fiefs which he poſſeſſed in England. But, mutual diſguſts were ſoon after produced between theſe princes. John laid the foundations of a caſtle at Tweedmouth. William unwilling to ſuffer the eſtabliſhment of an Engliſh garriſon in a place which he perhaps reckoned to be within his own dominions, repeatedly interrupted the builders, and demoliſhed what they had conſtructed. The Engliſh monarch at length advanced to Norham with an hoſtile army. The king of the Scots led his forces to oppoſe him. No war enſued; for, their barons mediating between the two ſovereigns, the armies were diſmiſſed, and a Peace concluded. It was ſtipulated on the part of John, that he

* Fordun. VIII. 56, 59.—Chron. Melroſ. 180.

he ſhould never rebuild the caſtle of Tweedmouth, while William agreed to pay him, in compenſation, the ſum of fifteen thouſand merks, and delivered his two daughters into John's hands, that *he* might procure for them, ſuitable matches. William, pacific in his temper, and now old and infirm, rejoiced to purchaſe peace, even upon terms at the inequality of which his ſubjects murmured *.

His ſubſequent reign was diſtinguiſhed only by domeſtic tranſactions and events. A ſudden ſwelling of the Tay overflowed the ancient town of Perth in which William with his family and his Court happening then to reſide, they with difficulty eſcaped from the danger (C). A parliament aſſembled at Stirling, granted the King, *an aid* of 16,000 merks, for the payment of that ſum with which, in the concluſion of the late peace, he had engaged to gratify the Engliſh monarch; the Barons contributing ten, the Boroughs, ſix ſixteenths of the ſum granted. Invaders from Ireland, waſted Roſs-ſhire. But, Guthred, their Leader, being betrayed by his followers, into the hands of the king's ſervants, ſoon expiated, by an ignominious death, the alarm which he had excited, and the outrages he had perpetrated †.

Domeſtic tranſactions.

A. D. 1211.



* Fordun. VIII. 71, 72.—Chron. Melroſ. 183—Fœdera, I. 155.

† Fordun. VIII. 72, 73, 76.—Chron. Melroſ. 185.

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A. D. 1214.

Death and character of William.

William, after a tedious illneſs, died at Stirling, on the fourth day of December, in the year one thouſand two hundred and twelve, the ſeventy-ſecond of his age, the forty ninth of his reign. His character is not diſtinguiſhed by any eminent proofs of genius for either the enterprizes of war, or the arts of peace. Yet, the eagerneſs with which his ſubjects ranſomed him from captivity, ſhewed him to be dear to them. The tranquillity which chiefly prevailed in Scotland, for the latter part of his reign, was favourable to the improvement of ſocial order, and the progreſs of civilization. To have reigned ſo long, and died at laſt in peace, implies that he poſſeſſed moderate, if not exalted talents for government. The practices were moſt probably diſingenuous, by which he ſupplanted his brother, Malcolm, in the favour of the nation. His confederacy with the ſon of Henry of England, againſt his father, was ungenerous and immoral: But, when were the laws of morality reſpected by the rivalry of nations, or the rage of war? *

His poſterity.

By his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, he left an only ſon who ſucceeded him. Before his marriage to Ermengarde, ſix illegitimate children had been

* Forduni Scotichron. VIII. 79.

been already born to him, by maidens whom he had debauched *. Sect. 1. Ch. VII.

## Chapter VII.

### *Alexander the Second.*

Acceſſion of Alexander the Second, & his wars with the Engliſh A. D. 1214.

Alexander ſucceeded on the throne of his fathers, in the ſeventeenth year of his age.—This was the æra of the Great Charter of Engliſh Liberty; and the Barons of England had taken arms againſt King John. They obtained the aid of Alexander, by offering to ſurrender to him, the often diſputed poſſeſſions of Carliſle and Northumberland. He beſieged Norham-Caſtle; but, in vain. John, in the mean time, came northwards, to repreſs this invaſion, and chaſtiſe thoſe barons who had invited it. His army waſted Yorkſhire and Northumberland; plundering, burning, maſſacring whatever met their fury. Entering Scotland, they ravaged, in the ſame manner, its adjacent diſtricts. The towns of Dunbar, Haddington, Berwick, with the priory of Coldingham, were burnt to the ground. But, John was ſoon obliged to withdraw from a country already too poor and deſolate, to afford either objects worthy of his wrath to deſtroy, or ſubſiſtence for his

* Fordun, &c.

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his forces. Alexander, in his turn, depopulated Cumberland; and the abbey of Holmcultram met the ſame deſtruction from the Scots, which the priory of Coldingham had ſuffered from the Engliſh. The monkiſh hiſtorians of theſe tranſactions, relate, with apparent delight, that two thouſand of the ſacrilegious Scots periſhed in the flooded current of the Eden. After a temporary retreat into his own territories, Alexander returned, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the city of Carliſle, then marched on ſouthwards, and joined the Engliſh barons; who had invited alſo the king of France, to aid them in withſtanding the tyranny of John *.

Interference of the Pope in the Engliſh wars, followed by ſubmiſſion to his authority, & peace. A. D. 1217.

John could find no reſource againſt ſuch a combination of enemies, except in the protection of the Papal See. He ſubmitted himſelf and his kingdom to the Pope. His foes were excommunicated; and among theſe, Alexander and the Scots. While Alexander, unawed by the curſes of the Roman Pontiff, beſieged the caſtle of Carliſle, or advanced into the interior parts of England; his royal Ally from France, was ſhamefully defeated at Lincoln; after which, forgetful that he had ſtipulated never to deſert his Confederates, he made a ſeparate peace with the enemy, did penance, and was reconciled to the Holy Protector of England. Alexander thus abandoned, retired to his own confines, and ſought reconciliation

* Chron. Melroſ. 189, 190.—Matth. Paris, 191, &c.

tion with the Pope. The Legate then in England, ſent two biſhops, in his name, whom the Scottiſh king met at Tweedmouth, and received abſolution from their hands. The town of Carliſle was then yielded up to the Engliſh: and Alexander did homage to Henry, the ſon and ſucceſſor of John, for the Earldom of Huntingdon, and his other fiefs in England *.

Negotiations with Rome and England. A. D. 1218.

The Scottiſh nation were however ſtill under excommunication. The Legate and his creatures, taking advantage of this circumſtance, enriched themſelves by a ſcandalous traffic of ſpecial abſolutions. But, the national clergy ſoon ſent a deputation of three biſhops to Rome, to obtain a general pardon of thoſe offences by which the ſentence of excommunication had been incurred. Their profeſſions of penitent ſubmiſſion were readily liſtened to; the abſolution which they required, was granted; and the liberties of the Scottiſh Church were confirmed. Pope Honorius ſhewed himſelf little leſs impatient to grant them, than they themſelves were to obtain his pardon and favour. The controverſies yet ſubſiſting between Alexander and Henry, were to be referred to the determination of Pandolph, the Papal Legate.—After various negociations. in which the Pontiff ſtill took part, the tranquillity of Britain was

* Chron. Melroſ. 192, 194, 195.—Fordun. IX. 31.

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was fully re-eſtabliſhed: Alexander received in marriage, Joan the ſiſter of Henry: The two Scottiſh Princeſſes who had been ſent formerly into England, were afterwards married,—Margaret to Hubert de Burgh,—Iſabella to Roger Bigot *.

Inſurrections in the North quaſhed.

A. D. 1228.

In the mean time, Alexander had other enemies to oppoſe, on his northern frontier. In the beginning of his reign, an attempt made upon Moray by ſome aſſociated Scots and Iriſh, had been eaſily defeated. The tranquillity of the ſame diſtrict was now again diſturbed by a warriour named Gilleſcop; who after burning ſome wooden forts, ſlaying a baron who oppoſed him, deſtroying the town of Inverneſs, and eluding, for a while the purſuit of the King in perſon, was, at laſt, ſlain, with his two ſons, by the Earl of Buchan, the Juſticiary of the kingdom. The biſhop of Caithneſs having been, ſome time before, burnt to death in his palace, at the inſtigation, as was believed, of the Earl of Orkney and Caithneſs; A party to whom the Biſhop's memory was ſtill dear, now roſe againſt the Earl, and ſacrificed him to their revenge, with nearly ſimilar barbarity; for, although Alexander had ſeverely puniſhed the immediate perpetrators of the biſhop's murther, the Earl had been either too artful or too powerful, to be included among theſe, in the

* Ford. IX. 32, 33.—Fœdera, I. 227, 228, 374.—M. Paris, 216, &c.

the king's eſtimation. An inſurrection had alſo ariſen in Argyle, and had been, with equal ſucceſs, ſuppreſſed *. Sect. I. Ch. VII.

During the time of theſe events, the intercourſe between the Scots and the Engliſh, was without interruption, friendly. The marriage-portions of the Scottiſh princeſſes were paid by an aid of ten thouſand pounds which Alexander was authorized by his Parliament, to levy upon the poſſeſſions of his Lay-ſubjects. Alexander journeyed repeatedly into England; and was ſtill kindly and reſpectfully received, and magnificently entertained at Henry's Court. The Pope granted to the Scottiſh Clergy, an ambiguous permiſſion to hold national Councils, without the intervention of any foreign ſuperior; while the Engliſh metropolitans ſtill continued to diſpute, with their wonted pertinacity, the independence of the Scottiſh Church †. Friendly intercourſe with England. A. D. 1224.

Alan, the laſt male heir of the line of the ancient princes of Galloway, now died; leaving three daughters, to inherit his honours and poſſeſſions. But, he left alſo a baſtard ſon, named Thomas, who had ambition, and wanted not courage, to conteſt the legal rights of his ſiſters. The Galwegians, unwilling to ſee Diſturbances in Galloway with ſome difficulty ſettled. A. D. 1233.



* Fordun. IX. 34, 37.—Chron. Melroſ. 199.

† Fordun. IX. 43.—M. Paris, 250.—Chart. Mor. I. 11.

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their country parcelled out among the three lords, the husbands of Alan's daughters, wished rather to become the immediate vassals of the Scottish Crown, and failing to obtain this wish, were seduced to rise in rebellion with the bastard. Gilrodh, an Irish chieftain, came, with forces, to aid the bastard's attempt. The difficulties of the country threatened miscarriage and discomfiture to Alexander, in the beginning of an expedition which he undertook against the rebels. Eluding or surmounting these, he routed the rebellious Galwegians with great slaughter; re-established tranquillity and loyal submission throughout the district; and restored to the daughters of Alan, their father's domains. Thomas and his Irish Ally, having escaped, attempted, on the following year, to renew the rebellion. Their last hopes were crushed, and their followers all cut off, yet they themselves spared and pardoned *.

Renewed negotiations with England. A. D. 1334.

The mutual claims of the Scots and the English were now so various and so complex, as to afford matter, at least for continual discussion and negotiation. The fluctuations of Henry's affairs, too, were such, as sometimes to encourage him, to affect high superiority over Alexander,—at other times to force him to conciliate the Scottish monarch's favour, by gifts, concessions, and soothing professions of equal

* Winton. M. S.—Ford. IX. 48.

equal friendſhip. On his ſiſter, the Scottiſh queen, he conferred, at different times, the Manors of Driffeld, and of Staunton. At one time, he ſolicited the Pope to perſuade Alexander to return voluntarily into that ſubjection and dependence upon England, into which William had fallen, in his captivity, and from which he had bought a deliverance. At a ſubſequent period, the mutual complaints of the two kings were heard, at York, by the Papal Legate, and their differences compoſed through his mediation: And Henry now conſented to grant to Alexander, as ſome compenſation for the Engliſh fieffs held by his remoter anceſtors, lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, of the yearly value of two hundred pounds; Alexander did him homage for theſe poſſeſſions; and the principal Scottiſh Barons pledged themſelves for the maintenance of this agreement on their monarch's part *.

A D. 1257.

About this time died Joan of England, the Scottiſh Queen; after vainly ſeeking relief from her dying illneſs, at the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket. Alexander, after a year of widowhood, took for his ſecond wife, Mary de Coucy, a Lady of Picardy. Soon after this marriage, Scotland was viſited by the Papal Legate, whom Alexander admitted with-

Death of Queen Joan, and marriage of Alexander to Mary de Coucy. A. D. 1239.



* Fœdera, I. 334.—Fordun. I. 370.——Fœdera. I. 374.——Chron. Melr. 203.

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in his dominions, only through much earneſt intreaty, and with extreme reluctance; and who tarried only, to collect thoſe ſpoils which both Clergy and Laity poured, with too eager readineſs into his rapacious hands. A ſon was in the next year, born to Alexander; whom he called by his own name. So good a mutual underſtanding ſubſiſted, at this time, between the two kings of Scotland and England, that Henry preparing to viſit the Continent, confided to Alexander, the protection of his northern frontier *.

Feud;—and expulſion of the Biſſets. A. D. 1242.

An event now happened, in which the manners and ſpirit of the martial nobles of this Age, were remarkably expreſſed. At a tourneament on the border of England, Patrick, the young earl of Athol, a youth of great hopes, overthrew William, the Chief of the family of the Biſſets. Patrick was, ſoon after, murthered at Haddington, and the houſe ſet on fire, in which the murther was committed. Biſſet, although then at Forfar, was inſtantly ſuſpected to have contrived, if he did not perpetrate, the aſſaſſination of the knight, by whoſe ſuperior addreſs in the exerciſes of the tourneament, he had ſuffered his late affront. In vain did he proteſt his innocence; alledge his abſence from the ſcene of the murther, at the time of its commiſſion; demand the

* Chron. Melr. 203, 204.—Matth. Paris, 336, 339, &c.

the protection of the King against his accusers; procure even *their* solemn excommunication; and obtain the offer of the young Queen to make oath, that he had never devised a deed so flagitious. The relations of Patrick were convinced of his guilt. They were numerous and powerful, and thirsted for his blood. Alexander could not protect him. He fled, with many of his relations and dependents first to Ireland; thence, to England; and after some fruitless efforts to clear his innocence, and to gain the restitution of his forfeited dignities and possessions, departed, under a vow for the salvation of his own soul and that of Patrick,—to the Holy Land, never to return. The vow seems, after all, to imply, that he had not been unjustly accused *.

Preparations for war ending in a renewed peace between Scotland & England. A. D. 1244.

Causes of mutual jealousy and of hostilities were for ever arising between the Scots and the English. Henry, suspicious of the friendly correspondence which Alexander had, since his marriage to Mary de Coucy, cultivated with France,—now threatened an invasion of Scotland, and stirred up the savages of Ireland, to make, at the same time, a descent upon its western coast. Alexander soon mustered a numerous army to protect his confines. The hearts of his subjects were with him; and all marched with gallant resolution, to meet the foe. But, the

* Forduni Scotichron. IX. 48, 59.—M. Paris, 397.

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the Engliſh approached not nearer than Newcaſtle. A peace was there mediated between the two kings. And their armies were diſbanded, without a battle*.

Laſt acts & death of Alexander.

Alexander lived not to engage in any other foreign war. An inſurrection of the Galwegians againſt their immediate lord, de Quincy, one of the ſons-in-law of the late Alan, was happily ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the ſovereign. He then made

A. D. 1249.

an expedition to the Hebudæ, to reduce to obedience, the Iſlanders; who refuſed their homage to the Scottiſh throne, under pretence of reſerving it for the king of Norway. His enterprize was interrupted by a fever, of which he died, in the iſland of Kerrary, on the eighth day of July, in the fifty firſt year of his age, the thirty fifth of his riegn †.

He had increaſed the number of Religious Houſes in his dominions, by the eſtabliſhment of eight monaſteries for the Dominican or *black* friars; at Berwick, Ayr, Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Elgin, Aberdeen, Inverneſs.—During his reign alſo was the code of the Scottiſh laws enlarged by the addition of five and twenty new ſtatutes ‡.

Brave

* M. Paris, 432, 436.—Fœdera, I. 426.
† M. Paris, 496.—Chron. Melr. 219.
‡ Spotſwood's Religious Houſes, 15.

Brave yet prudent; not averſe from war, yet diſpoſed to cultivate the bleſſings of peace; vigorous in maintaining order and tranquillity within his dominions, and ever alert to repel foreign enemies; religious, and generous to the clergy,—but without having his ſpirit broken by baſe ſuperſtition, and without laviſhing the royal revenues on the Church with fooliſh profuſion; a legiſlator and a warriour, yet not unamiable in private life: Alexander the Second was eſteemed and admired by his contemporaries; and has been repreſented by the hiſtorians of his reign, as a model for future monarchs. His body was buried at Melroſs.

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## Chapter VIII.

### *Alexander the Third.*

A. D. 1249. Acceſſion of Alexander the Third.

The only ſon of Alexander the Second,—of the ſame name,—was, at the time of his father's death, a boy in the ninth year of his age. Henry, king of England, eſteeming himſelf, the feudal ſuperior of the Scottiſh ſovereigns, wiſhed to interpoſe his authority, for regulating the circumſtances of the young monarch's inauguration. But, while Henry appealed to the judgment of the Pope, the Nobles and Clergy of Scotland, careleſs of the claims of

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of the one, or the ſanction of the other, ſeated their prince on the throne of his fathers, and at the ſame time, inveſted him with the honours of knighthood *.

Regency of the Nobles, and marriage of Alexander.

Under a king as yet too young, to exerciſe himſelf the ſupreme power; the kingdom was, for a while, to be governed by regents and counſellors, by the Nobles and ſuperior Clergy,—as the domains of each individual among them, were more or leſs extenſive, his vaſſals more or leſs numerous and warlike. Comyn, earl of Menteith, directed the affairs of the Government in the firſt years of the new reign. A new coinage was ſtruck. Some meaſures appear to have been employed for reducing, or at leaſt defining the limits of—the power of the Clergy. The young king having been, before his father's death, betrothed to Margaret daughter to the king of England, was now carried to York, to ſolemnize the marriage; and with the hand of the princeſs, received Henry's promiſe of a dowry of five thouſand merks. He, at the ſame time, did homage to his father-in-law for his poſſeſſions in England; but would not confeſs, that homage was due for the Crown of Scotland. The youth of Alexander afforded room for faction and intrigue among his courtiers and nobles: Alan

* Chron. Melroſ. 219.—Fordun. X. 5.—Fœdera, I. 463.

Alan Dureward, keeper of the palace-gate, or of the door of the king's chamber, and husband to a natural sister of his sovereign; anticipating in imagination, the death of Alexander without issue; endeavoured to secure the regal succession, upon that event, to his own children, by previously obtaining the legitimation of his wife: Henry from his newly contracted affinity to Alexander, interposed to disconcert the views of Dureward, and to remove him from the person of his sovereign: He sent also Geoffroy of Langley into Scotland, as a guardian to his daughter, and a counsellor to aid the young king with his advice: But, Geoffry was soon dismissed by the Scottish Nobles. The English king, within two years after these transactions, obtained from the Pope, a grant of one-twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland, for three years,—and afterwards for a fourth, to be employed by him in the expences of an expedition to the Holy Land *. SECT. I. CH. VIII.

A. D. 1255. Factious contentions; and changes of the administration.

THE power of the Scottish Government was still in the hands of the Nobles; who, divided among themselves, contended in factions, for the mastery. The Comyns were at the head of the more powerful party. De Ros and de Baliol, two of their friends, were nominal regents. The earls of March,



* Chron. Melrof. I. 30.—M. Paris. 395.—Fœd. I. 467.—M. Paris, 554, 555, 571.

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added to that of the Comyns. About the ſame time was publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication obtained from the Pope, againſt the enemies of Biſhop Gamelin. This was a ſignal to raiſe the oppoſite faction, in arms againſt the regents. Pretending that their reverence alike for royalty, and for religion, urged them to reſcue their king and queen out of the hands of men accurſed; they ſeized the royal pair at Kinroſs; confined the queen for a time, apart from her huſband; diſperſed the regents and their adherents; and alarmed the nation by giving out, that the queen had ſolicited her father to invade Scotland, and extirpate the Scots*.

A. D. 1258. Agreement between the Parties: Death of the Earl of Menteith.

The worſted party retiring to claim the protection of the Engliſh king, were purſued to the border, by their ſucceſsful rivals, with their own Sovereign in their company. A negociation enſued. Mutual fears probably reconciled the two factions. A new regency was compoſed of the Leaders of both, with the Dowager Queen and her huſband, at its head. Henry's approbation ratified this new ſettlement. The earl of Mentieth, the chief of the Comyns, ſoon after died—by poiſon, as was ſuſpected, adminiſtered by his wife. The ſuſpicion, perhaps groundleſsly excited, moſt certainly inflamed by ſuitors for the hand of the widowed counteſs

* Fœdera, I. 670.—Chron. Melroſ. 221.—M. Paris, 644.

teſs, whom ſhe ſlighted by the preference of an obſcure Engliſhman,—was however employed as a pretext for depriving her, with her ſecond huſband, of the earldom; driving her in diſgrace, from the kingdom; and at laſt dividing the inheritance between her heirs and thoſe of her younger ſiſter *.

A. D. 1259. De Cheyam, Biſhop of Glaſgow.

In this Age, the Popes conſtantly ſtrove to draw all eccleſiaſtical patronage to the Holy See. Alexander having preferred a Scottiſh clergyman, to the vacant biſhoprick of Glaſgow; the Pope, without regard to the king's choice, gave the biſhoprick to his own chaplain, John de Cheyam; and Alexander, with whatever reluctance, was obliged to recognize the appointment. Yet, de Cheyam, diſcouraged by the cold reception he found at the Scottiſh Court, ſoon left the kingdom, and was ſatisfied with enjoying the revenues of his biſhopric abroad, for the reſt of his life †.

A. D. 1260. Alexander and his Queen in England.

In the mean time, the Scottiſh king and queen repaired again to the Engliſh Court. Solemn engagements were however firſt exacted from Henry; that, he ſhould not require the king of the Scots to treat, during this viſit, of ſtate-affairs,—nor detain the queen or her child, if ſhe ſhould bear a child, during her

* Chron. Melroſ. 221.—Fœdera, I. 670.—Fordun. X. 11, &c.

† Fœdera, I. 683.—Chron. Melroſ. 222.—Keith. Cat. 443.

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her ſtay in England. She was ſoon after delivered of a daughter, who was named Margaret.—The poverty of Henry's exchequer had hitherto prevented him from paying the marriage-portion which he had promiſed to Alexander, with his daughter; and it was not diſcharged, till ſome time after this; and only in ſmall partial payments *.

A. D. 1263. Battle of Largs.

The Orkneys, and the Shetland iſles were, at this time, poſſeſſed by the Norwegians. The Hebudæ and Man, ruled by petty lords, confeſſed the ſupreme ſway, rather of the Norwegian, than of the Scottiſh king; yet wavered in their duty between the two. From this confuſion of intereſts, diſputes were continually renewed between the Norwegians and the Scots. Haco of Norway, ſlighting, or at leaſt evading the mediation of the king of England, now came with a mighty fleet, againſt the Hebudæ and the weſtern coaſts of Scotland. His ſhips were an hundred and ſixty in number; and conveyed a force of twenty thouſand men. He landed at *Newtown-upon-Ayr*; beſieged, about the ſame time, and took the two caſtles upon the iſles of Bute and Arran; ravaged the adjacent coaſts, and plundered the religious houſes; then proceeding with his fleet and army to Largs in Cunningham, was there met and routed by the Scottiſh forces,

* Fœdera, I. 713, 714.—Chron. Melroſ. 223.

forces under the command of Alexander Stewart of Dundonald. A tempeſt propitious to the Scots, at the ſame time ſhattered the Norwegian fleet. Numbers periſhed amidſt the waves; and many who eſcaped by ſwimming, or on fragments of their broken veſſels, were cut in pieces by the Scots, as they reached the ſhores. Haco, with difficulty, accompliſhed a retreat to Orkney; where, broken in ſpirit, and worn out with fatigue and diſaſter, he died, without having been able either to return to Norway, or to renew the invaſion of Scotland. The plain of Largs, on which this battle was fought, has been but lately denuded by the hand of agriculture, of thoſe rude obeliſks, cairns, ſtone-coffins, urns, and bones, with broken weapons here and there buried, which remained monuments of the bloody battle and the memorable ſucceſs of which it had been the ſcene. The death and burial of Haco have been commemorated even in the familiar and traditionary hiſtory of the Orkneys *.

Reduction of the Hebudæ.

The Norwegian invaſion being thus defeated; the chieftains of the Hebudæ, and the petty king of Man were left at the mercy of the victorious Scots. Magnus king of Man, prevented the Scottiſh

* Torfæi Hiſt. Norveg. IV. 47.—Fordun. L. X. Cap. 15.—Statiſt. Account, &c.

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tiſh ſovereign, on his way to ſubdue, that iſland,—by meeting him at Dumfries with ready offers of homage and ſubmiſſion. Alexander exacted from him, five gallies of twenty four oars, and as many of twelve oars, for the uſe of the expedition which he was next to proſecute againſt the Hebudians. The earls of Buchan and Moray were ſent upon this ſervice. The Hebudians were finally reduced; their iſlands plundered and laid waſte.—To complete the good fortune of Alexander, a ſon was, in the mean time, born to him, at Jedburgh *.

A. D. 1266. Treaty with Norway.

Humbled by the diſaſters of their late expedition, and afraid for their other poſſeſſions in the Scottiſh ſeas; the Norwegians were now content, finally to reſign to the Scots, the ſovereignty of Man and the Hebudian Iſles, in a treaty, by which the Shetland iſles and the Orkneys were, at the ſame time, ſecured to Norway. The king and the eſtates of Scotland engaged to pay for the ceſſion of the Hebudæ, four thouſand merks in four annual payments, as alſo a quit-rent of an hundred merks a year, for ever. But, the biſhopric of the Hebudæ was left ſtill ſubject to the archbiſhop of Drontheim, in Norway (D) †.

The

* Forduni X. 18—Chron. Melroſ. 225.

† Fordun. X. 19.—Torfæi Hiſt. Norv. IV. 343.

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Disputes with the Pope.

The Scottish Clergy continued to avail themselves of their remote situation, and to resist upon occasion, the usurpations and exactions of the Roman Pontiff. A demand by Fieschi, the papal legate in England, of four merks from every parish-church, six merks from every cathedral in Scotland was, at this time, firmly refused by Alexander and his Clergy. They appealed from the Legate to the Pope; and the Clergy supplied the king with two thousand merks, for the expences of the appeal.—A dispute between the King and the Bishop of St Andrew's soon after arose from the excommunication of a Sir John de Dunmore. De Dunmore had been excommunicated for offences against the prior and convent of St Andrew's; and the king required Gamelin, the Bishop, to absolve him without satisfaction. Gamelin refused compliance; and excepting only the royal family, excommunicated all other adherents of de Dunmore. The contention rose continually higher between the King and the Bishop; till de Dunmore voluntarily made satisfaction to those whom he had offended, and obtained absolution from the Church. When the cause of the disagreement was thus removed, a reconciliation between Alexander and Gamelin naturally followed.—The legate, still persisting in his claims, and proposing to enter Scotland,—was now withstood more vigorously than at first, and refused admission

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into the kingdom, by the king and his clergy once more acting together, in unanimity. Nor would the Scottiſh Clergy attend, in England, him whom they refuſed to receive, as Legate, in their own country. To a council to which he ſummoned them, they ſent only two biſhops, and thoſe, not to aſſiſt in the Council, but, to watch its proceedings. Obedience was denied to thoſe of its canons which were framed to regulate the affairs of the Scottiſh Church.—Being not long after, required to contribute for a cruſade, a tenth part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the kingdom; the Scots choſe rather to equip a number of their own warriours for the expedition. The earls of Athole, and Carrick, with other barons, went, and periſhed.—The king of England perſiſting yet to claim a tenth of the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtical revenues upon a grant from the Pope, for the cruſades,—met with a refuſal to his demands, and had the diſcuſſion of his claim returned, by an appeal, to Rome. The Scottiſh Clergy, in the mean time, aſſerted their independency by aſſembling at Perth, in a national council, and enacting canons for the government of their church*.

A. D. 1270. Death of ſeveral great perſons.

A second ſon who was, in the next year, born to Alexander, and who received the name of David, died in infancy.—Upon the death of Henry of England,

* Forduni X. 23, 24, 26.—Chron. Melroſ. 241, 242.

land; after a long reign; Alexander renewed his homage, at the acceſſion of Edward, Henry's ſon and ſucceſſor. Theſe events were quickly followed by the death of Queen Margaret, the ſiſter of Edward, the wife of Alexander *. Sect. I. Ch. VIII.

A TENTH of the Church Revenues of Scotland was again required by the Pope, for the relief of the Holy Land. De Vicci, or *Bagimont*, came, to exact this contribution. It was paid by all, except the Regulars of the Ciſtertian Order; this Order having paid the groſs ſum of fifty thouſand merks, as a compoſition for the tenth of all their annual revenues throughout Europe.—A diſpute moved by the biſhop of Durham, concerning alledged encroachments of the Scots upon the Engliſh marches, was however, ſettled by the management of ambaſſadors whom Alexander ſent to the Engliſh Court.—In the following year, the Scottiſh king attended the Engliſh Parliament, in perſon, and performed the accuſtomed, partial homage, to Edward. Robert de Bruce, at the ſame time,—Lord of Annandale, and by a late marriage, Earl of Carrick in Scotland,—did homage to Edward, for Engliſh poſſeſſions †. A. D. 1275. Contribution for the Cruſades, &c.



* Boeth. XIII. 290.—Th. Wikes, 98.—Fordun X. 35.

† Fordun. X. 35.—Fœdera, II. 84 & 86.—Annal. Waverl. 233.

SECT. I. CH. VIII.

A. D. 1281. Death of Alexander and his children.

MARGARET, the daughter of Alexander, having attained the age of twenty one, was given in marriage, to Eric, the young king of Norway; to confirm, by a closer bond of amity, the Peace which had been formerly concluded between the Norwegians and the Scots. Prince Alexander, the heir-apparent of the Scottish Crown, received in marriage, Margaret, daughter to Guy, Earl of Flanders. But, the king soon saw himself bereft of all his children. The queen of Norway died in the third year after her marriage; leaving only an infant daughter; on whom the Crown of Scotland was afterwards settled. Prince Alexander died, without issue, on the twenty eighth day of January, in the year one thousand two hundred and eighty four.—In hopes of a second offspring, the king took again to wife, Joleta, daughter to the Count of Dreux. But, he had not long entered into this union,—when, on his way, in an evening, from Bruntisland to Kinghorn, he was thrown from his horse, over a precipice upon the shore, and perished in the fall *.

THE memory of this monarch was long dear to the Scots. In his minority, the kingdom had been miserably distracted, and the bonds of civil order relaxed by the contentions of rival parties: Before the final cession of the Hebudæ, the western parts of Scotland

* Fœdera, IV. 370. II. 269.—Fordun. X. 37, 40, &c.

Scotland had never been even tolerably ſecure from the plundering incurſions of the iſlanders: in no former reign had the ſame harmony with England been ſo uniformly maintained: from this period of the death of Alexander, the courſe of our hiſtory will conduct us through a long ſeries of divided councils, conteſted ſovereignty, wars, ſubjugation, maſſacres, the liberty of one half of the nation, purchaſed by the wounds of theſe and the death of the reſt. Beſides, Alexander governed his kingdom with wiſdom and energy; he was diligent and impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice; he was upright, temperate, pious in his private life; the advancement of civility was conſiderable, during his reign. Under thoſe circumſtances, and poſſeſſing ſuch perſonal qualities, it was natural that Alexander ſhould be beloved and lamented by his ſubjects, and that his reign ſhould long be reviewed with peculiar complacency. His death happened on the ſixteenth day of March, in the year one thouſand two hundred and eighty five.

Section

# BOOK II.

## Section II.

*Local circumstances; Labours; Knowledge; and Enjoyments of the inhabitants of Scotland,—from the acceſſion of Malcolm Canmore, to the death of Alexander the Third.—*

Local circumstances.

I. In the period of two hundred and thirty years, through which we have continued to purſue the hiſtory of Scotland, in the foregoing ſection; the ſilent changes of nature would, even alone, have greatly altered the aſpect and exterior circumſtances of the country; although its inhabitants had been ſtill too few, and too rude, to clear away its woods, or to beautify and ferilize its fields by cultivation. But, the Romans had conducted highways, in various directions, through the marſhes and foreſts, and had thrown bridges acroſs the rivers. They had deſtroyed much of the wood, in clearing tracts of ground for ſettlement and culture; in conſtructing their roads and fortifications; in the conſumption of fuel, and of the various uſes of domeſtic life. Oppoſing the progreſs of *their* conqueſts, or imitating *their* manners; the ancient natives

tives, as well as the Romans, gradually cut down the woods; opened the more inacceſſible parts of the country; and joined by new lines of mutual communication places which, although adjacent to one another, had been more effectually divided by intermediate obſtacles, than they could have been, by lengthened diſtance. Even rude nature is defaced by the ravages of war. The invaſions of the Saxons, after the Romans had retired, the deſcents of the Danes, the conqueſts of the Norwegians, the the inceſſant ſtruggles of thoſe petty nations among whom the country was long ſhared—neceſſarily produced many variations; if no improvements, upon the exterior aſpect of the territory of Scotland. Cultivation had, as yet, done little to improve the country, in moments of peace; but, war was, for ever, renewing, varying, or extending its devaſtations. Sec. II.

At the commencement of this Second period, then, We ſee one half of Scotland, diveſted of wood. The Ochil hills, the Grampian mountains, the eaſtern, the northern, and the weſtern diſtricts beyond theſe laſt, are ſtill extenſively covered with foreſts. Foreſts ſpread through all the interior parts of the wide region of Galloway. Woods are irregularly ſcattered in Angus, in Fife, and through the country between the ruins of the two Roman walls.

Sec. II. walls. In this latter tract, are ſome narrow ſpots, on which grain is ſeen to wave. Sheep and oxen wander over wide, undivided fields of mixed heath and verdure. Wolves, now and then ruſh from the thickets; and foxes ſteal upon them, from holes among the rocks. The ſtag and the roe are heard ruſtling through the foreſts, or are ſeen to bound up the riſing hills. Dogs of various ſizes and characters, attend the ſteps of the hunter. Several ſmall tracts of moraſs have ſettled into narrow lakes. But, all the lower ground is ſtill marſhy. On ſome ſheltered heights, in iſlets within lakes or rivers, among moraſſes which ſeem to prohibit all acceſs,—appear a few rude ſtone buildings, the caſtles of Chiefs and Nobles. In ſituations more acceſſible we can diſcern ſome churches, cathedrals, and abbies of humble ſtructure, the ſeats of religion and its miniſters. Around theſe, or by the brinks of the rivers, or in hollows among the hills, or perhaps in nooks on the ſea-ſhore, are the huts of the peaſantry. In ſome of the northern and weſtern iſles, we perceive tracts of wood; others are rocky, bleak, and bare; having their vegetation ſtill checked and withered by the ſea-ſpray; or having been occupied by men or quadrupeds, before Nature could have time to extend her plantations over them.—The climate becomes more genial; but the atmoſphere is ſtill moiſt, foggy, cold; all the magazines of ſtorms are frequently

frequently opened upon the Scottiſh coaſts; the proſpects of winter are dreadful. Sec. II.

II. The inhabitants thinly ſcattered over Scotland and the Scottiſh iſles, when ſuch was their general appearance, could not be numerous. There was little for their ſubſiſtence; They were hardly ſheltered from the ſeverities of the climate; They enjoyed few of thoſe comforts which peculiarly excite the genial powers. But, they required little: Few idlers were among them, to be maintained by the labours of the reſt: That induſtry which they exerted, was all employed in providing neceſſaries: Conveniencies and luxuries they knew not. A poor individual cannot *now* have what are deemed indiſpenſible neceſſaries, without the labour of an hundred hands, beſide his own: A man's own labour for but a ſmall portion of his time, would *then* ſupply him with almoſt all that he knew to be uſeful. A ſmaller quantity of induſtry, therefore, and a more barren country would then ſupport a greater number of inhabitants, than can be now ſupported by three or four times that quantity of induſtry, and a much more abundant fertility of Nature. We have found the Scottiſh kings leading armies of twenty thouſand men, to invade England. Theſe armies were levied only in the Midland and Southern parts of the kingdom. We may, without great Labours. Population.

Sec. II. danger of errour, conclude, that Scotland, with the northern and weſtern iſles, might have afforded at leaſt five times as many, or an hundred thouſand men able to bear arms. For every perſon able to bear arms, there might be five women, children, eccleſiaſtics, and infirm old men. And upon this computation, Scotland, with its northern and weſtern iſles, would, at this time, contain about ſix hundred thouſand ſouls.

Labours by which ſubſiſtence was acquired.

Hunting was, in the firſt period of the Scottiſh hiſtory, the capital *labour* of the native Scots, from which they derived the greater part of their ſubſiſtence.—But, cattle had, by this time, become common among them; not only the fierce *Aurochs* of the foreſts; but alſo, thoſe milk-white oxen, with brown ears, which have been but *lately* exterminated, or confounded with other breeds. They had ſheep, but, of what variety we cannot *now* trace. Their goats were, moſt probably of that race which are ſtill common on our northern mountains. Swine were kept about the monaſteries. Their horſes were larger, although of the ſame breed, as thoſe ſmall horſes which are now almoſt peculiar to our weſtern and northern iſles; for, the uſe of food not highly nutritive, and but ſcantily and precarioufly ſupplied; continual expoſure to the ſeverities of a cold, watery, and tempeſtuous climate; and the long pre-

Management of cattle:

ſervation

ſervation of one breed, uncroſſed and unchanged,— are well known to produce a gradual diminution of ſize, in every ſpecies of animals (E).—But, theſe animals were managed with little care or ſkill. Each lord had his own flocks and herds: They were guarded from plunderers and beaſts of prey: Their milk was drunk as a pleaſing beverage, and occaſionally coagulated and preſſed into cheeſe, or churned into butter: They were ſlaughtered, from time to time, and their carcaſes devoured, with very little cookery; the hides, the fleeces, and the ſhaggy hair being uſed as materials of dreſs and furniture: The horſes were left, without care or reſtraint, to wander wild, unleſs when their ſervice was immediately wanted: All but the war-horſe, who bore the full-armed warriour into the battle, or to the perilous adventure, were uſed in riding, without having their hoofs ſhod, without being curbed by bits, or equipped with a ſaddle.—The ſtag, the roe, the boar of the mountain and the foreſt, were ſtill chaſed by the hunter. When left in peace, at home, the warriour betook himſelf to the chace. On a military expedition, the moſt gallant ſoldiers would, at an hour of relaxation, turn aſide, to hunt the wild animals in any contiguous foreſt. If no longer the firſt, the chace was, at leaſt, ſtill the ſecond reſource of the Scots, for ſubſiſtence.—The trout, the ſalmon, the herring, and other fiſhes frequented

Sec. II.

Hunting;

Fiſhing;

Sec. II. quenting their ſhores and rivers—afforded alſo a very agreeable ſpecies of food *.

Agriculture. AGRICULTURE was confined almoſt excluſively to the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and practiſed chiefly, if not ſolely, on the eſtates of the Clergy. On the ſhores of Galloway, and through all that part of Scotland which had been comprehended within the Northumbrian kingdom, it was the Anglo-Saxon agriculture that prevailed. Beyond theſe limits, whatever cultivation of the ground might be exerciſed, was more awkward and unſkilful. High-lying ridges, the gentler declivities at the baſes of hills, the level ſummits of ſome eminences of inconſiderable height—were the ſpots preferred for tillage; the plains, and the banks of the rivers were too marſhy, and too much expoſed to ſudden floods, for cultivation by a people who had little art or induſtry, to remedy, or guard againſt—ſuch natural inconveniencies; thoſe traces of the plough which are yet diſcerned in lofty and ſcarcely acceſſible ſituations, where no modern huſbandman would attempt agriculture,—prove only, that the lower grounds were once inſecure, marſhy, or overgrown with trees and brambles, ſo as to be then unſuſceptible

* Fordun. L. II. 8: L. VI. C. 33:—VIII. C. 65, 73: IX. 11, 38, 60: X. 4, 25, 29: L. L. Burgorum. C. XVIII. LXVII. *Statuta Gulielmi Regis.* C. XXIV. XXXIV. *L. L. Foreſt.* C. VIII. XIV *Statuta Alex. Secundi Regis.* C. XVI.

tible of tillage,—not that the climate of this country was anciently milder, or the huſbandry of our remote anceſtors, more ſkilful and active, than our own. The plough was yoked in Spring. It was drawn, more commonly, for a while, by oxen, than by horſes. Its conſtruction was ſimple; unfit to remove ſtubborn obſtacles from the furrow, to penetrate deep, or to turn over a weighty layer of earth. The cattle were inconveniently yoked, ſo as to be managed with difficulty, and to be unequally burthened. The ſpade was occaſionally employed in the culture of ſpots not eaſily acceſſible to the plough. Black oats, rye, and the long-bearded barley ſtill common in Scotland, were the ordinary grains; wheat was in ſome places, the chief article of crop. The harrow was often a faggot of thorns, faſtened to the tail of the animal that dragged it. From the ſowing to the reaping, no care was employed upon the growing crop, ſave that of guarding it from fowls and cattle. When reaped, in the latter months of Autumn, and gathered into the barns, the corn was, for the moſt part, parched, from time to time, in ſmall quantities, and rudely ground into meal between two ſtones; of which the upper was fitted with a handle by which it might be turned,—and was bored in the middle, to receive and tranſmit the grain poured upon it. But kilns and mills had been likewiſe erected upon the lands of the King, the

Sec. II.

Sec. II. the Clergy, and ſome of the Nobles. The barley was made into malt; for our anceſtors ſoon learned to prefer ale to the mead, and to the infuſion of heath and other herbs which they had before drunk. —Little manure was uſed to improve the fertility of the lands; unleſs perhaps dung, aſhes, and putreſcent vegetables: But, the native ſoil was indeed in many places, where it had not been before wrought, ſo rich in oils, ſalts, and vegetative matter, as to require no manure, and but little culture, to fertilize it. After being plowed, two or three years ſucceſſively, for corn, a field was commonly ſuffered to reſt, for many years, in order to recruit its exhauſted fertility.—All the grain annually produced, made no more than an inconſiderable part of the proviſions conſumed by the nation, in about two-thirds of the year. Yet, the barns of the Nobles, and eſpecially of the Clergy might not be always entirely emptied before the new crop began to be gathered into them. Beans and peaſe, and perhaps alſo ſome pot-herbs affording either leaves or roots for food, were cultivated about the convents, in the ſouthern parts of Scotland. In the moſt uncomfortable, northern ſituations, the ſkilful and ſecure induſtry of the monks triumphed over natural diſadvantages, and forced from a reluctant ſoil and climate, many of the uſeful herbs, grains, and fruits of fairer lands, and more genial ſeaſons.

As

Sec. II.

As the poſſeſſions of the Clergy were, in this period, enlarged by the munificence of Princes and Nobles; agriculture, and the management of flocks and herds, were extended with them, and improved. Whenever the contention and devaſtation of war were, for a few years happily interrupted; huſbandry, and eſpecially agriculture, the firſt of the arts of peace, was mightily advanced. In the ſame manner, every new law that was enacted and enforced, inaſmuch as it contributed to eſtabliſh and to maintain ſocial order, alſo encouraged and protected induſtry in its moſt natural and beneficial exertions. In the courſe of *theſe two hundred and thirty years*, agriculture made great progreſs in improving her arts, and diffuſing her benefits over all Scotland*.

Fabrication of clothes, and faſhion of dreſs.

The arts by which our anceſtors provided themſelves with raiment, were as yet extremely rude and ſimple. Skins of wild beaſts, undreſſed, and awkwardly fitted to the limbs, ſtill formed various parts of the dreſs of the warriour. Wool was, by the women of every family, ſpun into yarn, woven into cloth, coloured with ſome dirty dyes, and faſhioned into garments for themſelves, and for the men. Flax and hemp were, here and there, cultivated; but linen was very little uſed; and only in the ſou-

-thern

* Statuta Regis Alex. Secundi, C. I:—Forduni Scotichronicon, Lib. II. C. 8: VI. 33. VIII. 68. VIII 72: X. 14: IX. 38: X. 22.

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thern and eaſtern parts of the kingdom. The feet were generally bare: but the uſe of coarſe ſhoes and boots, made at firſt of untanned hides, was gradually introduced. A looſe under-garment, nearly of the form of a ſhirt, and in ſome inſtances, of linen, was worn next the body. Over this, hung another nearly of the ſame ſhape and faſhion, but flowing deeper below, and covering the upper parts of the body more entirely. A looſe cloak; open before; faſtened only at the neck, if at all; ſhorter than the middle garment; and having, at its upper extremity a ſort of hood, to cover the head, was worn over the other parts of the dreſs;—by perſons of higher rank; on occaſions of ceremony; or when extraordinary expoſure to the ſeverities of the weather, appeared to require to the perſon expoſed, the protection of an unuſual quantity of clothes. That faſhion of dreſs which has not been yet wholly laid aſide by our northern and weſtern Highlanders,—was gradually aſſumed by our anceſtors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; as the habit of wearing full armour, and the imitation of the Normans led them to give a cloſer and more ſuccinct form to thoſe parts of the dreſs which were neceſſarily to be worn under armour. The prior uſe of ſhoes, boots, hoſe; and the practice of ſerving on horſeback, in war,—gave, on the continent, in England, and, at length, among the ſouthern—or Anglo-Saxon and Norman

Scots,

Scots,---the definite form of the *breeches*, to that part of the under-dreſs which was appropriated to cover the thighs.—The *dreſs of the women* was, for a while, little diſtinguiſhed from that of the men. While the garments of the latter took a new faſhion from their military habits; thoſe of the former remained unchanged, or were modified ſolely by their increaſing and improving domeſtic habits. Queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm the third, firſt taught the Scottiſh Ladies to cultivate ſplendour and elegance of dreſs; and to court the admiration of the men by an appearance more winning than the dirty nakedneſs and the fantaſtic decorations of ſavage and barbarian life.—*Eccleſiaſtics* were arrayed in robes approaching more nearly to the character of the ancient Roman garb; gorgeous, to command awe, or impreſs reverence; or ſimple, to ſuggeſt the opinion of humility and ſelf-denial. The laity univerſally wore their beards, unviolated by razor or ſciſſars: And the clergy therefore diſtinguiſhed themſelves by cutting off that natural ornament of manhood. Deriving the peculiarities of their reſpective dreſſes and obſervances from founders who were natives of different countries, and were actuated by a wide diverſity of fantaſies and prejudices; the *regular clergy* came, through theſe means, to be marked by many fantaſtic diſtinctions of dreſs, which were little connect-

Sec. II.

Sec II. ed with the progreſs and fluctuations of the ſyſtem of arts and manners in Scotland *.

Architecture. The houſes of the Scots of this period, were, for the greater part, of a very humble and inartificial ſtructure. They had only cottages, caſtellated houſes, caſtles, cathedrals, churches, and abbies. In the ſouth-eaſt parts of the kingdom, the walls of the *cottages* were already built of ſtones, with clay for mortar; and the roof rudely covered with wood, turfs, and heath: On the ſouth-weſt ſide of the country, and along the ſhores of Galloway, the walls were rude poles of wood, fixed in the earth, having ſlender branches cloſely interwoven amongſt them; and on both ſides, bedaubed with clay, wrought, by the intermixture of ſtraw, to a tenacious conſiſtency. Under the ſame roof, were lodged both the cottager and his cattle. In towns or cities, three different ſpecies of houſes were ſometimes intermixed together; the cottage having its walls of ſtones or of wood, cemented or bedaubed with clay; the houſe built either wholly, to its roof, of ſquared wood, or having ſeveral ſtages of an wooden ſtructure raiſed above an inferior wall of ſtones and mortar; houſes, of ſtones and mortar, of a caſtellated appearance, and riſing to a conſiderable height. Theſe houſes

* Engravings in vols I. & II. of Horda-Angel-Cynnan compared with the *Chalmer'a'n's Air*, in *Skene's Collections*, chap. 22, 24, 25.

houſes were crowded together, in narrow ſtreets and alleys: the ſtreet unpaved, a puddle of mud and water, a common ſewer of all ſorts of filthineſs; the houſes having only narrow holes for windows, and theſe without glaſs; ſeldom chimnies, for the tranſmiſſion of the ſmoke; the walls, whether of wood or ſtones, being amazingly thick, and conſtructed with the moſt attentive care of their ſtrength. Rather for ſecurity from robbery and hoſtility, than for the ſake of ſocial labour or cheerful intercourſe, did our anceſtors firſt fix their dwellings together, in towns. Theſe were placed—under the protection of ſome caſtle; round ſome monaſtery or cathedral; at the paſſage or mouth of a river; or at the bottom of a bay. Such as grew under the protection of the Church, were, more commonly ſtraggling, irregular, and unwalled; being ſecure in the reverence generally entertained for whatever belonged to the miniſters of religion. Towns built under caſtles, were ſurrounded with walls; and the town and the caſtle together, appeared then to be, on a larger ſcale, what the *baſe court* and the *keep* of the caſtle were upon a ſmaller. Such towns or *burghs* as aroſe where no caſtle or cathedral had previouſly exiſted, had often caſtles built within them, as they grew to be conſiderable, for their protection and defence *. SEC. II.

Sec. II. Before the reign of Malcolm the Third, Scotland had been without edifices of ſuch ſtrength or magnitude, as properly to deſerve the name of CASTLES. Here were fortified camps, and round towers; but, the camp and the tower had not been combined into one ſtrong work; nor had the tower been fitted within, into a commodious dwelling. The Anglo-Saxon tower was indeed larger, and perhaps ſtronger than the Daniſh. About the end of the tenth century, too, the military architecture of France and Germany had begun to be imitated in England. But, even in England, at the æra of the Norman invaſion, caſtles of any ſtructure, were extremely few. In Scotland, at the acceſſion of Malcolm, they were ſtill fewer. To maintain themſelves in their new poſſeſſions, William of Normandy and his barons fortified themſelves in ſtrong and ſpacious caſtles. In the diſſenſions and rebellions which immediately enſued, many even of the Normans ſought eſtabliſhments in Scotland. Malcolm and his nobles, in their wars with England, ſoon diſcerned the importance of imitating, in their own country, the Norman fortifications. Solitary, round towers were no longer reared. But, the tower being combined with the camp; a number of caſtles were erected, of ſome of which the foundations may yet be traced. Lofty, inſulated ſituations were uſually choſen for the ſites of thoſe caſtles. After the

the ground had been marked out, an artificial mount was raiſed on one ſide of the area, to the height of many feet, above the level of the reſt. On this mount, a round tower was conſtructed; its walls of vaſt thickneſs; the ſtones of which theſe were compoſed, large unhewn maſſes;—the cement prepared with lime obtained by burning ſhells from the ſea-ſhore; the height of the tower affording three or four apartments,—a dungeon, and under it, a well,—a guard-room, or apartment in which the military force of the caſtle might be occaſionally aſſembled,—a ſtate-room which was ordinarily occupied by the principal perſons within the caſtle,—beſide ſmaller rooms which we cannot, with the ſame preciſion, enumerate; battlements crowning the ſummit of the building, around the walls; the roof ſtrongly arched over with ſtones, or perhaps covered with lead; the floors of the ſeveral apartments, framed of wood,—and this ſupported by props beneath, or upon ſtones jutting out, round the circumference of the wall,—not by nitches prepared to receive the ends of the beams; the whole building illuminated chiefly by light entering from above, through an aperture in the roof, and through correſponding apertures in all the parallel floors; the chimnies carried up through the middle thickneſs of the walls; as alſo the ſtairs, none of which connected the interior parts of any two different apartments; SEC. II.

SEC. II. partments; the doors narrow, and terminating, each in a round or a pointed arch above. This tower thus conſtructed upon the artificial mount; a high wall, thick and ſtrong, as that of the tower, was then carried round the whole area, denominated the *Baſe Court*. On the ſide oppoſite to the tower, was placed a gate. Strong apartments were raiſed over, and upon each ſide of it; the ſame fortifications were extended for ſome length forward, on its front; and the entrance was ſhut with ſeveral maſſy and ponderous frames of iron, which opened not to one ſide, but were drawn up, and let down. Around all, was the moat; a wide and deep trench; ſometimes filled with water, ſometimes dry; dividing the caſtle from the circumjacent country, except where a draw-bridge, when let down by thoſe within, afforded acceſs over the moat. Between the outer gate and the draw-bridge, was the *Barbican* or outer watch-tower. The form, as well of the great tower or *Keep*, as of the wall encompaſſing the whole area of the caſtle, varied, in the courſe of this period, from *round* to *polygonal*, and from a *polygon* to an imperfect *ſquare*. The elevation of the tower was diminiſhed. New buildings were added, within the walls. The faſhion of the interior accommodations was altered and improved. The maſonry became more elegant. But, the general deſign, the grand outline of the whole, and the

the relations of the parts—were ſtill in a great meaſure the ſame. Nor were the ſolitary round towers forſaken or deſtroyed, inſtantly after our anceſtors had begun to conſtruct ſpacious caſtles. The conſtruction of a caſtle was an extraordinary effort of labour, ingenuity, and expence. It was not every where that the great barons would ſuffer the king to erect royal caſtles. Nor could every baron obtain permiſſion to fortify himſelf in a caſtle,—from his jealous ſovereign. In many places, the ſolitary round towers ſtill continued to be built; but were enlarged, and made fitter for habitation, after the model of the towers in the caſtles. In other places, where a ſpacious caſtle, conſiſting of both a *keep* and a *baſe court*, could not be conveniently erected; nor was the faſhion of the round towers preferred; fortified towers,—polygons or imperfect ſquares in their figure,—were conſtructed---either on natural eminences, on the open ſides of hills, or on mounds formed in the midſt of moraſſes or lakes. To the very beginning of this period, too, if not rather to the end of the preceding period, are to be referred moſt of thoſe rude, *erect* pillars, or *incumbent* flabs which are yet to be ſeen in different parts in Scotland,—are commonly inſcribed with ſome coarſe, and ſtrange figures, of which only the upper outline is raiſed above the plane of the ſtone,—and are, with ſtrong probability, conjectured to have been

SEC. II.

intended

Sec. II. intended either as *trophies*, or as *ſepulchral monuments*, and to have been either erected by the Danes and Norwegians, or imitated from others of their erection *.

The

* Of this period moſt probably were the Caſtles of—*Dunſkey*, at Portpatrick, in Galloway; *Blackneſs*, in the county of Linlithgow; perhaps *Bal-an-trae*, on the border of Carrick; *Tibbers* in the pariſh of Penpont, in Nithſdale; *Rothesay*, in the iſle of Bute; Houſton in the county of Renfrew; *Clatto* in the pariſh of Kettle, in Fife; perhaps *Skrimple* in the pariſh of Torthorwald, in Dumfries-ſhire; *Dalſwinton*, in the ſame county; *Kirkcolm*, in Galloway; *Garthland*, in the pariſh of Stonykirk, in Galloway; *Caw-daily*, in the pariſh of Carnwath, in Clydeſdale; ſome ſtrong works, in the pariſh of Crailing, and at Niſbet, in Roxburghſhire; a caſtle of which the ruins yet remain in Loch-Orr, in Galloway; the ancient caſtle of *Kilmorly*, at Largs, in Cunningham; *Dunoon*-caſtle in Argyle-ſhire; *Colleſſie*, in Fife; *Newark*-caſtle, in the county of Selkirk; a caſtle at *Blair* in Atholl; *Dingwall*, the ancient ſeat of the Earls of Roſs; *Derval* and *Auldton*, in the pariſh of Loudoun, in Ayrſhire; *Denoon*-caſtle, in the pariſh of Glammiſs, in Angus; the caſtle of *Luggan*, in Badenoch; the caſtle of *Coull*, in the county of Aberdeen, but lately *deterre*; the caſtle of *Turnbury*, in Carrick; that of *Balloch* in an iſlet of Loch-Doon, alſo in Carrick; *Red-caſtle*, at the mouth of the river Lunan, in the county of Forfar; probably *Hume*-caſtle, in Berwick-ſhire; *Lochnaw*-caſtle, in the pariſh of Leſwalt, in Galloway; *Dunavertig*, in Argyleſhire; *Caſtal Dunriachan*, and *Dundardel* in Inverneſs-ſhire, —if not earlier, certainly not later, than this period; *Dornadilla's caſtle*, at Melnoſs, in the pariſh of Tongue, in Sutherland,—as alſo *Gaiſtal a Bharruich*, in the ſame pariſh; probably the caſtle of *Loch-Braden*, in Carrick; the ſubterraneous works, on the farm of Prieſttown, in the pariſh of Tealing, in the county of Forfar; *Craigball*, and perhaps the caſtle of *Rattray*, in the pariſh of Rattray, in Perthſhire; the caſtle of *Lochwood*, in Annandale; a caſtle at *Kenmure*, in Glen-kens, in the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, upon a low eminence, ſouth-

Sec. II.

The buildings for the accommodation of the clergy regular and secular, and for the celebration



south-west from the site of the present castle, then surrounded by the waters of *Loch-Ken*, by which it is still washed on one side; the castles of *Loch-Fergus*, of *Buittle*, of *Dundeugh*, and others, within the same stewartry; *Mount-blairie*, in the parish of Alvah, in the county of Bamff; the castle of *Kincardine* and *Green castle*, in the parish of Fordoun, in the county of Kincardine; *Achan-cass*, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, in Dumfries shire; perhaps the ancient tower of Lundie, in Fife; a castle at Montrose, the site of which is still named, *the Fort-hill*; a castle at *Moulin*, in Atholl; a castle at *Huntly*, in the parish of Gordon, in Berwick-shire; a *Castle of the Comyns's*, at Dumfries; the castle of *Loch-Leven*,—rebuilt; *Dichmount* in the parish of Cambuslang, in the county of Lanerk; the castle of *Dunbar*; *Caerlavock*, most probably rebuilt, and strengthened; the castle of *Cadden*, in the parish of Kinneff, in the county of Kincardine; *Delny*, in Kilmuir Easter, in the county of Ross; *Donan*-castle, in the parish of Kintail, in the county of Ross; the castles of *Dunskeath*, and *Ethir-Dover*, now *Tarbat-ness*, in Ross; the castle of *Sanquhar*, in Nithsdale; the castle of *Forfar*; the castle of *Lammington*, in Clydesdale; *Ardrossan*-castle, in Ayrshire; perhaps several of ten small castles, of which the remains are still to be seen in the parish of Broughton, in Tweed-dale; *Lochmaben*-castle, in Annandale; the castle of *Lochore*, in the parish of Ballingry, in Fife; the castle of *Loch-an-bhar*, in the parish of Dalry, in Galloway; *Hurly-Haukin*, with the subterraneous apartments near, in the county of Forfar; *Pease*-castle, near the celebrated bridge, in Berwick-shire; *Closeburn*-castle, in Nithsdale; *Redhall*, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleeming, in Dumfries-shire; the castle of Caerdiness, in the stewartry of Kircudbright; the castle of *Yester*, in the county of Haddington; the castle at *Dunfermline*; *Broughty*-castle at the mouth of the Tay; and many others.——

See King's admirable Essay on Ancient Castles in the V. vol. of the Archæologia;—the Sequel to that Essay, Vol. VI. P. 231. of the same Archæologia;—the Preface to Grose's Antiquities of England;—

Grose's

Sec. II. of the ſolemnities of religion, were *Abbies*, *Priories*, *Colleges*, *Friaries*, detached houſes, often caſtellated, for ſome of the ſuperior clergy,—and ſolitary *cells*; *cathedrals*, *churches conventual*, *collegiate*, and *parochial*. Buildings for theſe purpoſes had been erected in Scotland, before the beginning of the preſent period. The ſame prieſts from Italy and France, who, by the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons, added Britain to the empire of the Church of Rome,—introduced as much of foreign art as was neceſſary to conſtruct edifices for the purpoſes of religion, more auguſt and ſplendid than the ordinary dwellings of their converts. In the progreſs of religion and of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments among the Anglo-Saxons; their clergy increaſed in wealth; and the intercourſe

Groſe's Antiquities of Scotland; De Cardonnel's Antiquities of Scotland;—Statiſtical Account of Scotland, Vol. I. 47, 100, 112, 209, 304, 327, 382. V. II. 32, 50, 56, 245, 288, 331, 342, 363, 384, 418, 437. V. III. 15, 105, 126, 152, 201, 292, 322, 365, 485, 520, 593. V. IV. 101, 149, 224, 297, 399, 498, 523, 546. V. V. 2, 30, 69, 93, 141, 157, 264, 334, 478, 484. V. VI. 31, 170, 195, 208, 253, 427, 460, 512, 558. V. VII. 48, 159, 235, 314, 510. V. XIII. 20, 56, 117, 140, 231, 246, 271, 35e, &c. &c.—Forduni Scotichronicon, V. II. L. X. C. 15. p. 97. Edit. Edin. 1759. (The New town or Caſtle-at Ayr, mentioned in this ſame chapter, and in a former part, to have been built between the rivers Doon and Ayr, where the burgh of Ayr now ſtands,—not where the preſent *Newton of Ayr* is ſituate):—V. II. 72:—V. II. 74. (the caſtle of *Hermitage* in Liddiſdale): II. 105, 110, 121. The caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton, were renewed in this period; but we cannot well diſtinguiſh what parts of their preſent buildings were at this time erected.

intercourſe between Rome and England became continually more frequent and more intimate. Each ſucceſſive abbey, church, or cathedral was built in a better ſtyle of architecture, than thoſe which had been before it; More ſuitable accommodations, and more ſplendid ornaments were ſtill provided to fit up theſe edifices. The clergy of Scotland, although leſs opulent, were not leſs willing than thoſe of England, to improve the ſplendour of their churches, and the commodiouſneſs of their dwellings. At Dunkeld, at Brechin, at Abernethy, at St Andrew's, there were certainly, even before the reign of Malcolm Canmore, religious edifices,—auguſt and ſtately, if regarded in compariſon with the arts and manners of thoſe times. But, the piety of Malcolm, or rather of his queen, the excellent Margaret, introducing into the kingdom, a greater number of foreign clergy, than had before, reſorted hither, and aſſigning to theſe, new eſtabliſhments,—thus fixed a new æra in the ſtyle and character of the eccleſiaſtical buildings in Scotland. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman nobles who were driven into Scotland by the oppreſſions of William of Normandy, alſo promoted by their advice and benefactions, the ſame change and improvements in the ſacred architecture of the people among whom they were received. Before this period, the churches had been, in form, ſquare or oblong; covered, over the rafters, on the SEC. II.

Sec. II. roof, perhaps with planks of wood; and over these, with lead, with thatching, or with tiles: In imitation of the only parts of the military architecture of the country, that could be, in any degree, accommodated to religious purposes; *round towers* had been erected beside some of those square churches, —as ornamental,—or as conveniencies for giving or receiving signals,—as secure repositories for precious things, in times of danger,—as belfries,—as penitentiary prisons. In the sacred architecture now introduced, the *nave* and the *aisles*, the *church* and the *choir* were distinct parts of the same building: the relative positions of the nave and the aisles, were arranged by the practice of building these sacred edifices in the form of a *Cross*: the church and the choir related respectively to the *missal* and the *musical* parts of the service. But, even among the changes which now took place, some churches were not built in that fashion which would have necessarily divided them into a nave and aisles: many were not intended for that grand and solemn service which required the accommodations of both church and Choir. Only, these were the more common forms of the sacred edifices of this period. The walls were thick, but seldom lofty; the windows, dim and fantastically wrought, rather ornamental than useful; the arches, where these appeared, round; the columns, rude and clumsy. An altar

tar for the celebration of the moſt ſolemn rites, was one of the coſtlieſt pieces of the furniture of the Church or the Cathedral. Some narrow apartments were appropriated to various inferior purpoſes.—The *abbey* or *convent*---was an accumulation of many very ſmall apartments, with ſome large halls, kitchens, cellars, and other rooms---for domeſtic purpoſes, or for thoſe of huſbandry. All theſe were contained in one building, or at leaſt, in one continuous aſſemblage of buildings. They were arranged commonly in ſome variety of the *ſquare* form,---either complete or imperfect. The ſituations in which ſuch buildings were commonly placed,---were, in the middle of fertile, ſheltered, and well watered fields; on the loweſt declivities of gently-ſloping hills; in ſequeſtered and inviting vales; on the banks of fair rivers.---The only gardens were thoſe belonging to the conventual houſes of the clergy; they were incloſed within walls of good maſon-work; planted with fruit-bearing trees and ſhrubs; and cultivated with the ſpade, for the production of pot-herbs.---The ſmaller convents, colleges, priories, and preceptories differed from the largeſt monaſtic houſes, in extent and decorations only, not in the general outline of the plan, or in the faſhion of building.---Caſtles or *fortalices* were built by ſome of the abbots, priors, or biſhops, on the lands belonging to their convents or ſees.---To repair, to enlarge, to ornament

Sec. II.

Sec. II. ment old edifices; to conſtruct new; to invite ſkilful workmen from diſtant parts; to prepare ſtores of iron, braſs, wood, and ſtone for future buildings, ---were eſteemed among the moſt praiſe-worthy acts of a biſhop, an abbot, or a prior *.

Domeſtic Practices.

The *Domeſtic Practices* of thoſe who inhabited Scotland in this period, in ſo far as they were rather *labours*, than amuſements,—were ſimple, rude, and awkward. The men would ſcour and brighten up their armour, or perhaps perform for themſelves, ſome of thoſe mechanic labours which were not yet practiſed in the land, by diſtinct artiſans. One taſk appropriated to them, was the bringing in, and killing of the animals uſed for food. In the caſtles, the charge of the ſtores of all ſorts, was intruſted to them chiefly. Little of the houſhold furniture was the work of ſeparate artiſans: it was for the moſt part produced by the occaſional labour of the men in every family. The women were cooks, ſpinſters, nurſes: within the houſe, as in the fields, every taſk of mean and painful drudgery, requiring, not ſo much ſtrength, as patient, ſubmiſſive aſſiduity, was conſtantly aſſigned to them. In the few towns, was ſomewhat more of domeſtic induſtry, than in the caſtles of the barons, or the cottages of the peaſantry. Several mechanic arts were there exerciſed for

* Forduni, Lib. VI. *paſſim*: Groſe's Antiquities of England in the Introduction: Groſe's Antiquities of Scotland: Statiſt. Acc. *paſſim*.

for the accommodation, not only of the townſmen, but of the inhabitants of all the country circumjacent.—In many of the convents, the ſubordinate and more robuſt monks, divided their time between exerciſes of devotion, and mechanic or agricultural labours. Their induſtry was more ingenious than that of the other inhabitants of the kingdom; the firſt neat or elegant productions of mechanic art were wrought by their hands. In their houſhold œconomy, they were for the greater part, leſs negligent and filthy, than the laity around them. The luxury for which they were envied and reproached, conſiſted as much in ſuperior cleanlineſs and neatneſs, as in a larger waſte of the means of ſubſiſtence *. SEC. II.

But, war was the univerſal trade. All who could bear arms, and had not dedicated themſelves to religion, regarded the offence and defence of war, as the chief buſineſs of their lives, and in compariſon with this, all other employments, as but ſecondary or incidental. Even the ſecular clergy were, at times obliged to poſtpone their ſacred duties to military ſervice. The caſtles were to be held, at all times, in a ſtate of defence. The vaſſals of every chieftain were to be ever ready to muſter in arms. Spring, ſummer, and harveſt were the ſeaſons for expeditions

War,—the proportion of time which it occupies as a Labour.

* Fordun. paſſim, &c.

Sec. II. expeditions againſt enemies; winter being conſumed, unleſs on extraordinary emergencies, in enjoyment, preparation, and domeſtic labour. Centinels kept watch on the battlements, and by the gates of the caſtles; the burghers or inhabitants of the towns, each, at night, by the door of his houſe. Arms were never wholly laid aſide; there was, for the laity, no garb of peace, diſtinct from that of war *.

Armour, defenſive.

THOSE arms were partly of the ſame faſhion as the armour anciently worn by the Scots, Britons, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons; partly of a different ſpecies, and adopted from the Normans, or other nations inhabiting the middle or ſouthern countries of the European Continent. The rabble of their armies in general, and the warriours of Galloway and the North wore as yet, little defenſive armour, except the wooden ſhield covered with hides; and their moſt common offenſive weapon was a long pointed ſpear. When they went out on horſeback upon a military expedition; the rider guided the horſe's head with a rope or thong, holding, in the other hand, his ſpear or lance: an unſhorn hide was his ſaddle; ſtirrups or ſpurs he uſed not. But the nobles, and knights were clad in a more ſecure defenſive armour, and bore more formidable weapons for offence. The ſame compleat and heavy armour

* Statuta Regum Alex. & Gul.—L. L. Burgorum.

armour was, by degrees, assumed by all who had riches to purchase, and strength, to wear it. A helmet covered the head; descending, behind, and at the sides, upon the neck and shoulders; having a moveable *vizor*, to cover or expose the eyes; a *bever*, also moveable, to protect the mouth; a crest, rising above, over the crown of the head; sometimes leaving the face bare; and sometimes protending only a bar from the front, to defend it. A coat of mail covered the body, and was either reticular and wrought of rings, or plated in the manner of the scales of fishes; it passed round the whole body, entering under the helmet about the neck, spreading out upon the shoulders, and descending below, over the buttocks and the loins. At the shoulders, greaves covering the arms to the elbows, were jointed to the meeting parts of the boddice: others jointed to those at the elbow, extended to the wrist. The thighs were protected by a work of ringed plates, rising over one another, upon the thigh, in a scaly structure. On the legs were greaves, and even the feet were defended by plates of iron. A vast shield was occasionally held before the knight,—while he fought,—at sieges, or in other instances,—by his armour-bearer or esquire, to cover him from missile weapons. His war-horse was also clad with steel,—on the head, the mane, the breast, the buttocks,—and had his feet shod.—The offensive weapons were—a spear, Sec. II. Offensive.

Sec. II. ſpear, fifteen or twenty feet long, fitted with an iron head, having often, as well an edge to cut,--- as a point to pierce; a mace, with which an antagoniſt might be felled to the ground; a ſword, of conſiderable length, pointed, and edged on both ſides, or on one only; a ſhort dagger, for occaſional uſe in cloſe combat, and to anſwer the purpoſes of a javelin, or a knife; a ſling for caſting ſtones, or pieces of iron or lead; a bow of yew or aſh, ſtringed with the dried entrails of animals, and accompanied with a quiver of aſhen arrows, each pointed with braſs or ſteel;---the *croſs*-bow, diſtinguiſhed by a beam of wood croſſing its diameter, enabled the bow-man to ſhoot with a ſurer aim, with force much more powerful, and to a wider diſtance. Steel or well-tempered iron was the metal chiefly uſed in the forging of all this armour, defenſive and offenſive.

Arrangements, and conduct in the field of battle.

Joining battle, the ſlingers, the ſpearmen, the bowmen were ranked in ſo many diſtinct bodies. The ſpearmen formed the ſtrength and centre of the army: and, on both ſides, preſſed inſtantly into cloſe combat. The ſlingers and bowmen were ſtationed in the wings, and harraſſed one another, at ſome diſtance. The cavalry wherever diſpoſed, were perhaps the moſt formidable part of an army; their more compleat armour, and the greater force and velocity of their movements, enabling them ſoon to break

break through the enemy's infantry, however armed, and to throw them into diſorder. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the greater part of the Scottiſh armies were always light-armed, irregular troops. However the armies of the Scots, and thoſe with whom they had to contend, might be drawn out, and oppoſed to each other, in the beginning of a battle; the ranks were commonly broken, and all ſcattered over the field, in mingled, deſultory combat; aſſoon as the fight became general. Sec. 11.

At ſieges, ſtratagem, ſtorm, blockade---were the modes of operation chiefly employed by the beſiegers. They uſed alſo various battering engines, and diſcharged ſtones and arrows againſt the walls and their defenders. But, ſo imperfect were the means of aſſault, that the fortifications of this age were often impregnable againſt every effort of beſiegers, unleſs they could ſtarve out the garriſon. The beſieged diſcovered often great fertility of invention, in contrivances for annoying the aſſailants. They had engines for diſcharging upon them, ſtones and other weapons, from the walls. In the chambers over the gates, were apertures through which boiling oil, and other burning or red-hot matters were poured down upon enemies attempting to enter. At the ſiege of the caſtle of Ludlow in Wales, Prince Henry of Scotland was dragged from his horſe, by a Sieges.

Sec. II. *hooked inſtrument* put down from the walls of the caſtle, by the defendants.

Fabrication and importation of armour.

Smiths fabricated all thoſe parts of this armour, which were formed of metal. But, in Scotland, mines had not been yet examined or wrought; forges for ſmelting iron ore, and refining it to malleability, had not been erected. Few foreign Smiths had been invited into the kingdom: few native Scots had learned to work in metals, with eminent dexterity or ſkill. In this period, as well the Scots, as the Engliſh, were ſupplied with arms, from Italy, Spain, and Germany, by the Lombards, the Spaniſh Moors, and the maritime Germans. Not but that a few workmen who could fabricate new armour, or repair that which was battered, had been, even at this time, invited into the kingdom, and retained in the ſervice of the king and ſome of the principal nobles *.

Trade.

Since the rude products of Scotland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although plentiful, were not various in ſpecies; and the few artiſans eſtabliſhed in the country, could not work up thoſe rude products, in any great variety of conveniencies: an *importation* of the manufactures and the natural

* Anderſon's Diplomata; Groſe's Ancient Armour, Plate IX. Fig. 8, 9. Plate LXI; Fordun. V. 25, VIII. 70: Matth. Paris. Pag. 64. Anno 1139, &c. &c. &c.

tural products of other countries was, by conſequence, required, to furniſh accommodations, of which the inhabitants of Scotland had learned the utility, although they could not create them for themſelves. Had ſuch an importation been unneceſſary, and the people content with their natural paucity of conveniencies; yet while the country afforded articles for *exportation*, and was not inacceſſible to foreign traders, its ſuperfluous productions muſt have found their way abroad; and its inhabitants would ſoon have been perſuaded to feel a want of foreign commodities, in return. Sec. II.

War, a ſort of Trade.

Viewed in one light, that warfare in which the Scots of this Age were continually engaged, will appear to have been a ſort of perilous, unſkilful traffic. Men, arms, proviſions were, from time to time, carried abroad. Cattle, ſlaves, armour, and perhaps the coſtly ornaments of the ſlain or vanquiſhed---were the ſpoils brought home from military expeditions. But, theſe ſpoils were rarely, if ever, ſufficient to compenſate the waſte of lives and property with which they were acquired. And, the Scots were liable to ſuffer, in their turn, from the invaſion of their enemies, a full retaliation of whatever ills they might have inflicted. This was a traffic which, however it might be kept up by the hope of advantage, or the neceſſity of repelling misfortune,

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tune, ſtill conſumed the population, as it was multiplied by the powers of nature,—devoured or deſtroyed the fruits of labour, as they were produced,---and even blaſted the wild fertility of the land.

Exports & imports by the Clergy.

A CONSIDERABLE traffic was carried on through the hands of the clergy. The Papal Legates were ſent into Scotland, to draw out of it, for the uſe of the Pope and his court, as much wealth as they could gain from either clergy or laity under pretences founded on religion. By the frequent viſits of the Scottiſh Clergy to Italy and Rome, the kingdom was drained of a large ſhare of its more precious productions, both for the expences of the journey, and for preſents and bribes at the Sacred court. The cruſades, and the contributions levied for defraying the expences of theſe expeditions, exhauſted the country of warriours and of money. Whatever was precious or rare, was greedily begged from the king, the nobles, or the peaſantry, by the clergy, and from theſe, again, by the foreign eccleſiaſtics, whoſe favour they courted, or with whom they correſponded.---In return were received---a conſiderable influx of knowledge and art; foreign eccleſiaſtics, artiſts, and artiſans; a multitude of relics and legends; books of maſſes and homilies; ornaments of all ſorts, for churches, cathedrals, and the houſes

of

of the clergy; and, in preſents to the king and the great men among the clergy and laity of the land,—rarities of many different kinds, the productions of newly invented or recovered arts, or the gifts of nature to the inhabitants of widely diſtant regions. This commerce,---diſadvantageous as it may, at a firſt view, appear to have been to Scotland,---unfair and fraudulent as it often was on the part of the clergy foreign and domeſtic,---proved, however, ultimately gainful, and that in a very eminent degree, to the nation. Sec. II.

The direct trade was of a different nature, and in other hands. The inhabitants of the burghs,---as burghs were erected,---either formally obtained, or imperceptibly engroſſed a monopoly of almoſt all foreign or internal trade. Wine, cloth, armour were the moſt common articles imported from foreign countries. The ſtaple exports were fiſhes, wool, and hides. That ſmall quantity of money which circulated within the kingdom, was obtained chiefly in payment for the exceſs by which the exports aroſe above the value of the imports. From the maritime and commercial cities of Lower Germany, France, and Italy---was the importation, for the greater part, procured. Some things might be received through England. The Lombards, in that age the moſt active traders in Europe, ſought an eſtabliſhment Merchants

Sec. II. eſtabliſhment at Crawmond or Queensferry, in the reign of Alexander the Third: and their negociation for this object, was finally defeated---only by the ſudden death of that king. Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, encouraged foreign merchants to import rich ſtuffs for the uſe of the Scottiſh Court. Merchants from Scotland appear to have traded in England, whenever there was peace between the two nations; for, it was ſtipulated between William and his contemporary, Richard the Firſt, that the Scottiſh traders ſhould have free and ſafe acceſs to markets, through all England, and the Engliſh, on the other hand, through all Scotland. Foreign traders appear to have been reſtricted, with more or leſs rigour, from offering their goods to ſale in any other places, than at the market-croſſes of the burghs,---or to other purchaſers, than the burghers. Scottiſh pearls were, in this age, famous through Europe, and the rivers of Scotland celebrated for the abundance in which they afforded pearls: Nicolas, an Engliſh monk, writing to his friend Eadmer, in Scotland, in return for the advices which he ſent, requeſted a preſent of Scottiſh pearls, which, he hoped, that Eadmer, if he could not otherwiſe procure them, might at leaſt beg from King Alexander the Firſt,---the richeſt, in pearls, of all the kings in Chriſtendom. The ſales of goods were made at *fairs*, or in *markets*. Fairs are generally known

known to have had their origin from religious feſtivals. Such feſtivals could not be celebrated, without the uſe of various things which merchandize was to ſupply: A concourſe aſſembled at them, among whom the merchants were encouraged to ſeek buyers for their goods: However ſolemn the occaſion, when numbers were *peacefully* congregated, that gay feſtivity naturally aroſe among them, which invites the ſervice of the purveyors of luxuries: In a country of which the police was ſo inſecure as that of Scotland, and of Europe in general, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,---a merchant rarely durſt expoſe his goods to open ſale, without fear of robbery, unleſs at religious feſtivals, and under the protection of the church. By theſe cauſes were fairs gradually eſtabliſhed in connexion with religious feſtivals. Before the erection of Burghs, having privileges for trade, ſuch fairs were the only public occaſions for ſale and purchaſe. At this time, the greater part of the traffic of the country, was ſtill tranſacted at fairs. *Markets* were held in the burghs; and appear to have been, at their firſt inſtitution, intended as the only occaſions on which ſtrangers were to be admitted to buy or ſell in a burgh, under the common protection of the burgeſſes *. SEC. II.



* L. L. Burgorum, Cap. X. XXII. XC: Statut. Gild. Cap. XXV. XXX. XXXVIII. Statuta Regis Gulielmi, Cap. XXXVII. XXXVI. Statut.

Sec. II.

Weights & Meaſures.

*Weights* and *Meaſures* were neceſſary even to the petty traffic of the Scots of this period. Originally unknown among a rude people, theſe diviſions of quantity were naturally adopted from thoſe trading nations by whom the importation of the country was ſupplied. The weights uſed in Scotland, were, for the moſt part, from the free, commercial cities of Germany, France, or Italy. The ordinary weights, in actual uſe, were the *pound* and the *ſtone*: The *meaſures* of length, the *foot*, the *ell* of three feet, the *rood* of ſix ells *. The pint, the gallon, the boll, the chalder, are mentioned among the meaſures of cubic contents *.

Coinage.

Coins, being at once a meaſure and a ſign of value, were, even in this early period, ſtruck, in Scotland, for the uſe of trade. The hiſtory of the Scottiſh coinage has been traced backwards, upon the beſt of all authorities, that of ſpecimens yet remaining, to the days of King William. Such coins as are clearly referable for the æra of their coinage, to this prince's reign, are ſilver *pennies*, each the two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound, in weight: On one ſide, they exhibit, in the middle, a repreſentation of his head, and have his name and title inſcribed

Statut. Alex. Secund. XVI. Forduni Scotichron. Lib. VIII. Cap. 56, 71. L. X. C. 42, &c.

* L. L. Burgorum, Cap. LII. CXIX. &c.

inſcribed round it: on the other ſide, is the name of the coiner, and of the place of coinage. The different ſpecimens appear to have been all coined at Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling, or Perth. By the faſhion of the coins, and by the name of the coiner, it ſhould ſeem that the artiſts whom William employed in his mints, were from France. Of the coinage of Alexander the Second, ſome ſpecimens remain, which alſo are ſilver pennies, and appear to have been ſtruck at the town of Annan on the river of the ſame name, and at Berwick upon Tweed. The coins of the reign of Alexander the Third, are pennies and *half-pennies* of ſilver. It ſeems impoſſible to determine with ſufficient certainty and preciſion, what quantity of the neceſſaries of life was repreſented by one of theſe pennies. In the reign of David the Firſt, the price of a boll of wheat appears to have varied, with the plenty or ſcarcity of the grain, from ten pence to two ſhillings,---or from half-a-crown to ſix ſhillings of our preſent *ſterling* money;—a gallon of ale was valued at one half penny; a gallon of wine, at two pence; a ſheep at eight pence; a cow, at ſix ſhillings. About the ſame time, for the toaſting of as much bread, as would fill an ordinary oven, there was paid,---to the maſter, one penny,---to two ſervants, one penny between them,---and to an aſſiſtant boy, one farthing. A butcher received for kill- SEC. II.

Sec. II. ing an ox, a ſow, or five ewes, one half-penny. A ſtranger-merchant, for liberty to erect a covered ſtand, for the expoſure of his goods to ſale at a burgh-market, paid to the magiſtrates of the burgh, an half-penny; for an uncovered ſtall, a farthing. Five pence was the yearly rent paid to the king, by the burgeſſes of every royal burgh, for each rood of land poſſeſſed under burgh-privileges. The vaſſal of a thane, or of any other ſubject, was fined in fifteen ewes, or ſix ſhillings, for diſobeying the kings ſummons, to join the royal army.---Money was common, only in the burghs, at markets and fairs, and through the more populous and cultivated parts of the country. In other parts, cattle were oftener referred to, as a common meaſure of value.---Although pennies alone, were coined by the Scottiſh ſovereigns of this period; yet other denominations of money were named in accounting; the ſhilling, the merk, the pound; and there were foreign coins current in the kingdom, which were, from time to time, imported by the merchants. Scotland and all Europe were, in this Age, ſupplied with ſilver and gold, chiefly from the mines of Germany and Spain *.

These

* Anderſoni Diplomata Scotiæ, et Ruddimanni Introductio: De Cardonnel Numiſmata Scotiæ, Pl. I: L. L. Burgorum: Statuta Regis Alexandri Secundi, &c.

Sec. II. Recapitulation.

These were the *labours* of the inhabitants of Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Hunting, fishing, the management of domesticated cattle, and agriculture furnished them with the primary necessaries for *subsistence*. To *clothe* themselves, they made garments of flax, hemp, and wool, or dried, unshorn hides,---shoes, of tanned leather. They *built*, for their dwellings, for places of defence, and for the scenes of religious solemnities,---cottages, towns, castles, cells, abbies, churches, and cathedrals. They practised a few rude and awkward domestic arts. War was their principal employment; it continually wasted the country and its population; their mode of fighting was fierce, but disorderly; they were sometimes clad in compleat steel, and had sometimes no defensive armour but a wooden shield; the spear, the sword, the dagger, the sling, the bow were their offensive weapons. The ravages and spoils of war; the connexions and intercourse of the clergy with a foreign church; trade carried on, by merchants and artizans inhabiting the burghs, with the English, Germans, Flemings, French, and Lombards---carried out those articles of raw produce which the country afforded for exportation, and imported those foreign productions which the improving modes of life began to demand.

III. The

Sec. II. Knowledge.

III. The Scots of this period, were a mingled race of Caledonians, Britons, Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, with the recent addition of a ſmall number of Normans. In their inſtitutions and manners, the Anglo-Saxon character appears to have predominated. In their Knowledge in general, they ſeem to have been a little, and but a little leſs enlightened than their ſouthern neighbours of England.

Of the laws of the material world.

Of *external nature* they had an extenſive knowledge. They could not but obſerve thoſe more remarkable aſpects of the heavenly bodies, of which the changes were connected with the revolution of the ſeaſons: The ſun and all the other heavenly bodies were fancied by them, to revolve round the earth; agreeably to the aſtronomy of the Scriptures, and in that ſimplicity of underſtanding, which judges of things by their firſt appearances: They believed in the influence of the ſtars on human life; and their aſtronomy was loſt in judicial aſtrology. They ſaw the rains and ſnows deſcend, froſts congeal the earth and waters, the winds rend the foreſts, without conceiving any juſt general notions of the compoſition of the atmoſphere, or the laws by which its fluctuations are regulated. The limits, and the diviſions, natural and artificial, of their own iſle, the ſeas by which they were ſeparated from the continent of Europe, the weſtern and ſouthern countries

tries of this continent, the Mediterranean ſea and its boundaries, ſome of the hither diſtricts of Aſia, and the Holy Land—were all more or leſs known to them. Their notions of the varied fertility of nature, were enlarged by an acquaintance with thoſe articles of foreign produce which merchants imported for their uſe. They knew ſomething concerning the diverſities of ſoils, and of the poſſibility of fertilizing theſe by tillage and manure. The progreſs which they had made in the domeſtication of the gentler quadrupeds in their country, implied, and indeed, neceſſarily gave them, conſiderable knowledge of the qualities and manners of the lower animals. Plants, they knew to raiſe from the ſeed, and from the ſhoot. The uſeful qualities of clay, of metals, of wood, of grains, of the hair or wool and the hides of animals—appear, from the ſtate of their arts, to have been familiarly known to them. Their mills required, to their conſtruction and management, conſiderable ſkill in the art of collecting, accumulating, and diſtributing mechanical power. A ſkill nearly ſimilar, was neceſſary to the operations of their maſonry. Their coins prove their precious metals to have been refined to a high degree of purity; which could not have been accompliſhed without extraordinary ſkill in metallurgy. Their defenſive armour was poliſhed, and fitted to the body with a degree of niceneſs, which modern blackſmiths

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Sec. II. ſmiths have hardly ſufficient intelligence and dexterity in their art, to diſplay. The remedies which their medicine exhibited, were almoſt all derived from aſtrology or ſuperſtition. Their ſurgery was exerciſed chiefly by the women, and conſiſted in little more than waſhing wounds, and applying to them, herbs, or oils. Their nautical knowledge was extremely rude and ſimple: They had not ſtudied the general laws of the winds and tides: They had drawn no charts of the coaſts, currents, ſhallows, eddies, channels, or open ſeas: Their boats were ſlight and frail: The ſtructure of their greater veſſels, looſe and cumbrous; the equipment, awkward. Time, the general meaſure of the changes of things, they computed by the Calendar of the year, and by the æras, then commonly received through the Romiſh-Chriſtian world: Sand---and water-glaſſes were in uſe among them, for the meaſurement of minute diviſions of time.

Its imperfection. The grand defect in their knowledge of material nature, was a want of accurate certainty, and of general principles. They had not learned to trace the relations of phyſical events. They readily received doubtful or fallacious appearances, as ſure realities. They knew not to ſeize the common principle by which ſolitary facts might be combined into ſyſtem and

and hence to arm themſelves with new power over nature. The faculty of Abſtraction or Reaſoning, is improved yet more ſlowly, in the general progreſs of ſociety, than in the life of the individual; and to ſo little energy had they yet attained, in the exertion of this faculty, that they had, in no inſtance, generalized their knowledge of external nature into ſcience, or even liberal theory. Only in the ſimpleſt, mechanic arts, did they underſtand the reaſons of thoſe rules which the art obſerved. Sec. II.

Yet, the ſtate of their arts proves, that they had advanced in the correct and general knowledge of the phœnomena of material nature, at leaſt ſome few ſteps beyond the Caledonians of the former period. We diſcover, among them, ſubdiviſions of labour, and rules of art, both indicating improved reaſon, and an enlarged acquaintance with the laws and the varying forms of matter. They are, in the general œconomy of their arts, as it ſhould ſeem, but a little leſs enlightened, than were the Anglo-Saxons in the faireſt period of their freedom and proſperity. From the Normans, and from the Lombards, they have learned ſome things which the Anglo-Saxons could not have taught them. Among ſtrangers, indeed, who have immigrated into the country, rather than among the ancient, native race, is this improving knowledge of external things, to

Sec. II. be diſcerned. But, an impulſe from without, ſeems to be always neceſſary, to excite to the cultivation of the active and inventive powers, as well of the ſociety, as of the individual.

Moral Knowledge. Their *Moral Knowledge* was more extenſive and complex. The duties of the relations of kindred, affinity, neighbourhood, and dependence—were generally recognized and reſpected. Benevolence, in all its modifications, was eſteemed, and cultivated with ardour. The obligations to juſtice began to be univerſally acknowledged, and to command, in every ſucceeding reign, more entire obedience than before. Truth and manly ſincerity were venerated; fraud and duplicity held in due abhorrence. The diſtinctions of property were allowed; and ſeldom attacked by theft or rapine, unleſs under the pretence of hoſtility prompted by ſome ſufficient cauſe for reſentment. Virgin chaſtity, and fidelity to the marriage-bed were honoured among all ranks, and rarely violated, but by the great, making their poor dependents, the ſport and prey of their wanton paſſions.

But, peaceful induſtry was deſpiſed. Martial heroiſm was counted the firſt of virtues. Human life was not held ſacred; but, the hands of all were ſtill, at one time or another, polluted with blood. The whole

whole inhabitants of the land were not combined together, with ſufficient cloſeneſs and amity, in the bonds of ſocial union: Every few families forming a ſort of ſeparate community, regarded all around them, with fear, with hatred, or, at the beſt, with ſuſpicious and uncertain kindneſs. Superior force, and the terrours of ſuperſtition appear to have been, in all caſes, the ultimate principles on which order, and obedience to law, depended. Treachery was ſometimes practiſed in circumſtances which rendered it horribly dark, and atrocious above the fraud of more poliſhed times. Intemperance was not unfrequent, wherever the means of indulgence were not wanting. Sec. II.

Progreſs of the Scottiſh government from the rudeſt clanſhip to Feodiſm.

The Scots had never been ſubject to deſpotic *government*. In the moſt remote period of their hiſtory, they knew only the natural government of families. Theſe were enlarged into *clans*, in which the father of a family was repreſented by the Chief. Among the chiefs, as among inferior individuals, there were inequalities of natural or acquired, of permanent or accidental advantages. Such inequalities had, at length, eſtabliſhed the dominion of ſome one chief, and his family, over the reſt. This monarchical dominion, at firſt weak and uncertain, was, by ſlow degrees, and through the influence of various cauſes, ſtrengthened, confirmed, and ſettled

Sec. II. in the hereditary ſucceſſion of the firſt-born ſons. No laws were acknowledged during the greater part of this progreſs, but thoſe of force and opinion; defining neither the authority of the Chief or King, nor the obedience of his ſubjects, but confined, except ſo far as they might have been generalized by cuſtom, to the hearts and arms of individuals. The power of the Chriſtian clergy, and intercourſe with the Anglo-Saxons, appear to have firſt occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of ſomething like a formal, complex, and regular policy among the Scots. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this policy was, at laſt, fully moulded into that form which then prevailed over Europe, and which has become famous in hiſtory, under the name of Feudal.

Diviſion of the ſubjects of law & government.

A country can have, for ſubjects of the regulations of Government, only its territory,—its natural productions,—theſe particularly modified by manufacture,—the imported productions, or manufactures of other countries;—and its People by whom all theſe things are wrought, imported, poſſeſſed, and enjoyed. Whatever the form of government,—the opiſions, cuſtoms, and laws, regulating theſe things, ſtill expreſs only *the relations of the whole people, individually or conjunctly, to things inanimate, or at leaſt incapable of moral agency, and by conſequence, ſubjects of property; the relations and duties*

*of*

*of individuals to one another;—those of individuals to the community;—those of the community to individuals.* These especially towards the latter part of this period, were regulated in Scotland, nearly in the same manner, as over the rest of Europe. SEC. II.

Origin of written law among the Scots.

It is probable, that some of the more important customs of the Scots might be recorded and confirmed by written laws at a time, at least as early, as their union with the Picts. Their clergy certainly taught them the use of public writings; and these could not be used without the gradual formation of a code of written laws, more or less perfect. But, the most ancient written laws ascribed to them, refer not to a period more remote than the reign of Malcolm the Second. Even these are confessed, on all hands, not to be genuine. The laws of Malcolm the Second, some parts of those attributed to King David the First, and perhaps some other parts of the books of law in the collection commonly known by the name of *Regiam Majestatem*,—from the first words with which it begins,—are, in all probability, of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman origin. They might fall into the hands of the earliest lawyers among the Scots, without being of legal institution, in Scotland. Fraud or ignorance might engross them carelessly among the Scottish laws, or try, by forgery, to give them the appearance of having been,

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been, from the firſt, Scottiſh. But, wanting the evidence of hiſtory in their favour, and having internal evidence againſt them, they cannot be regarded as authentic. We ſhall hereafter ſee, that the ravages and the dominion of the Engliſh in Scotland, during the period between the reigns of Alexander the Third, and of Robert Bruce, tended greatly to deſtroy, to falſify, and to reduce into confuſion, any records, of whatever nature, which might have been depoſited, before that time, in the public archives of the Scots.

Hiſtory of property in land, in Scotland.

PROPERTY in LAND had been, in the former period, ſlowly conſtituted by occupancy, and defined by cuſtom. As the Scottiſh tribes combined into a monarchy; each tribe or family were, of courſe, underſtood to be guaranteed by the nation or the prince, in the ſecure poſſeſſion of the territory which they had previouſly occupied. Eſtates were ſoon forfeited by rebellion. Theſe the monarch either reſerved for himſelf, or granted, upon condition of ſervice, to ſome ſubject, who became his immediate tenant at will. Lands had not yet become the excluſive inheritance of eldeſt ſons; but were occupied in common, by the whole family. Amidſt continual wars, rebellions, and viciſſitudes of dominion, eſtates were continually changing their maſters, and falling by forfeiture, to the King. The influence

influence of the ſame circumſtances, by degrees, fixed the ſucceſſive inheritance of lands in the ſon, the brother, or the nephew who was the ableſt to aſſert and vindicate his rights, upon the death of a former poſſeſſor; degrading the reſt of his family into a precarious dependence upon him. The neighbourhood of the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons, and their temporary domination over the Picts, introduced among both Picts and Scots, a partial imitation of thoſe laws and cuſtoms by which the poſſeſſion and the inheritance of property in land, were regulated among the Anglo-Saxons. The union, in whatever manner, firſt of the Pictiſh kingdom, and then of the Strathclydian principality to the Scottiſh monarchy, enlarged the domains of the crown, and by this means contributed to render that part of the lands in the kingdom, which was held independently of the Sovereign, ſmall, in compariſon with thoſe other parts, which were poſſeſſed in conſequence of his grant, and upon conditions of military or menial ſervice. Grants obtained by the Clergy, and the forms under which they took care to have theſe ſecured to them, ſuggeſted the uſe of forms likewiſe in the transference of property among the laity. Subordinate vaſſalage, in which a vaſſal had alſo his vaſſals, appears to have firſt taken place among the Scots, after their union with the Picts, and in the courſe of the conqueſts won from the declining

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kingdom

Sec. II. kingdom of the Northumbrians. A rude modification of Feudal Tenure had thus taken place in Scotland, long before the acceſſion of Malcolm Canmore. But, the ſame ſimplicity of habits and ideas, the ſame martial manners, the ſame inceſſant warfare, foreign or inteſtine, to which it owed its origin; had hitherto, as it ſhould ſeem, prevented it, from ſettling into a firm and regular ſyſtem, defined by laws, forms, and written deeds, and in all caſes, faithfully obſerved, and ſteadily guarded from violation.

The uſe of all the formalities of Feudal tenure introduced under Malcolm Canmore.

In the reign of Malcolm, the ſyſtem of Feudal Tenure prevalent among the Normans, and among the Anglo-Saxons in the latter period of their power in England, appears to have been ſuddenly ſuperinduced upon the ruder and ſimpler cuſtoms of tenure before acknowledged in Scotland. Its eſtabliſhment was gradual. The lands which Malcolm beſtowed on ſtrangers who reſorted to him from England, were granted under all the formalities of feodiſm, by written deeds, and upon conditions of feudal ſervice. As conqueſt or forfeitures, brought him new lands to give away; theſe were ſtill granted, as fiefs, under feudal conditions. Averſion to the reſtrictions and obligations of feudal tenure, was the chief ſentiment by which the northern Scots and

were moved to combine, under Donald Bane, againſt the ſons of Malcolm Canmore. Not till the reign of David the Firſt, was the Norman ſyſtem of feudal tenure, extended in its full force over all Scotland*. Sec. II.

The preciſe nature of feudal tenure explained.

By the eſſential nature of this ſpecies of tenure, the property of all the lands in the kingdom, was veſted ultimately in the King. Every fief was derived from his grant, and was revertible to him. But, he who was himſelf the feudatory of the Sovereign, might again grant his lands to ſecondary feudatories, who ſhould owe to him their feudal duties. Fiefs were forfeited by acts of poſitive rebellion, or by failure in the performance of the ſervices by which they were held. At the death of a perſon poſſeſſing lands under a feudal tenure; his next heir, if under that Age which was legally fixed as the initiatory term of full-grown manhood, could not ſucceed to the immediate poſſeſſion of the fief; but became the ward of the Sovereign, till the time of his majority; and till then was allowed out of the revenue of his lands, only a ſmall annual ſum, for his perſonal expences. Feudal property was inherited by males, in preference to females, but by females in default of males. The ſervices for the ſtipulated performance of which, fiefs were



* See Section I. Chap. II.

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beſtowed, were at firſt ſolely military or domeſtic. Afterwards, lands were occaſionally granted to both primary and ſecondary vaſſals, for a ſort of rent in kind; a hawk, horſes, hounds, weapons and articles of armour, or other things of a ſimilar nature. The *Clergy* for ſome time held their eſtates, upon the condition of performing religious ſervices alone; however, in the progreſs of their power, opulence, and avarice, they accepted lands alſo for military, and other ſervices. *Burghs* were fiefs granted to an incorporated community of tenants, either by the King, or his immediate feudatories, partly for military ſervices, but chiefly for ſuch ſervices as had been uſually performed by bondmen, but which the perſons obtaining the grant, had dexterity and ſkill to execute much more perfectly, than bondmen rendered by ſervitude, ſtupid, indolent, and languid, had ever performed them*.

Perſonal property.

Possession, obtained without robbery, theft, or fraud, conſtituted the right to that property which is denominated *perſonal*. It conſiſted chiefly in cattle, armour, apparel, and houſhold furniture. It might be deviſed by teſtament to whomſoever the teſtator choſe. It might be beſtowed away in gift, without other formalities than ſimple transference. It

* See Fordun. *paſſim*: L. L. Davidis Primi.—Gulielmi, et Alexandri Secund; Cragii Jus Feudale, &c.

It was inherited, when not bequeathed by will, by the immediate lord only. It was forfeited by treason and ſome other crimes. SEC. II.

SUCH were, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the general relations to property, in land, or perſonal,—as defined by the acknowledged laws and cuſtoms of Scotland *.

THE RELATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO ONE ANOTHER were modified in a manner conſiſtent with thoſe of perſons to property.—Of theſe, the moſt general, in all ſocieties, is that of *fellow-ſubjects*, or *fellow-citizens*. The duties of fellow-ſubjects under the Scottiſh government, regarding each other ſimply in this relation, were mutual good-will; aid againſt enemies who were ſubjects of other governments; relief in extreme want or diſtreſs; a preference above ſtrangers not better qualified,—as objects of favour. Theſe duties were ſuggeſted by natural ſentiment, ſanctioned by cuſtom, implied, although not ſpecially expreſſed, in all the written laws which the Scots of this period, obeyed. Laws marking the mutual relations of individuals.

THE mutual *duties* of the *two ſexes*, were,—by the males, protection and ſupport; by the women, obedience, fidelity, and domeſtic induſtry. Female chaſtity Of the ſexes.



* Fordun. paſſim; L. L. Regum Davidis I. Gulielmi. Alexandri II. Anderſoni Diplomata: Cragium de jure feudali.——

Sec. II. chaſtity was protected by laws ordaining ſevere puniſhments to be inflicted upon him who ſhould be convicted of a rape; unleſs he were ſaved by the interceſſion of her who had ſuffered it. But concubinage was common; being a relic of the former ſavage and diſorderly manners of the Scots; and being encouraged by the little diſtinction made between baſtards and legitimate children. Daughters were capable of inheriting lands, next in the order of ſucceſſion, after ſons. A huſband became, for his lifetime, lord of the inheritance of his wife, from the period at which a child was known to have been born from their marriage. A portion of the huſband's goods, was ſet apart, upon marriage, for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and her children, while the marriage ſhould ſubſiſt; and to become her peculiar property, when it ſhould be diſſolved by his death. From her birth to her marriage, a woman was ſubject to parents or guardians. During marriage, ſhe was in the ſame manner ſubject to her huſband. In widowhood, ſhe was her own miſtreſs, and not under particular protection*. A fine was levied by their Lords, upon the marriage of bondmen and female vaſſals†. The ſuperiority of the

* L. L. Davidis I. Lib. II. 15, 16, 28, 48, 58. L. IV. 8: L. Alex. II. Chap. 9.—Cragii Feud. L. II. Dieg. 14, 22.

† This is the only truth of the fables concerning the *Marcheta Mulierum*.—See L. L. David. Lib. IV. C. 31. Dalrymple's Annals, Vol. I. Appendix I.

the male ſex, was, by the laws and cuſtoms of Scotland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, uniformly maintained; yet the female ſex were not conſigned to abject ſervitude, and miſery. Sec. II.

*Parents* were acknowledged to be the natural guardians and lords of their *children*, while theſe were minors. Children owed to their parents, obedience, reſpect, and aſſiſtance in diſtreſs. Baſtards, as well as children lawfully born, were regarded, as having a right to the care of their parents. Sons firſt, and after them, daughters, ſucceeded to the hereditary poſſeſſions of their fathers. Baſtards were legitimated by ſubſequent marriage between their father and mother. Unleſs legitimated by this mean, they were incapable of hereditary ſucceſſion; but might receive by the gift or bequeſt of their father, any lands which he himſelf had not inherited, but otherwiſe acquired. Heirs were accounted incapable of full inheritance, till the term of majority; which was, *for* male feudatories holding eſtates under condition of military ſervice,—at the age of twenty one years; *for* females, at all times incapable of perſonal military ſervice,—the age of fourteen years,—the ſuppoſed æra of puberty; *for* the ſon of a *Socco-man*, whoſe lands were not held under condition of military ſervice, but for quit-rents in labour Parents and children.

Sec. II. bour or the produce of agriculture,—at fifteen years, —when he might be capable of ruſtic labour; *for* the ſon of a burgeſs,—at fourteen years of age,—as his domeſtic employments were not reckoned to require the ſame robuſt ſtrength, as the toils of huſbandry. An heir was not diſinherited for his father's crime; unleſs he ſhared the guilt, by deed or connivance *. The relations and mutual duties of other *Kindred* were regulated upon principles deduced from thoſe eſtabliſhed in the caſe of Huſband and Wife, Parent and Child.

Bondmen. THE *Slaves*, or rather *Bondmen*, were either Picts, the poſterity of thoſe who had been the meaneſt or moſt obnoxious of the inhabitants of Pictland, at the time when it fell under the dominion of the Scots; Strathclydian Britons, who had, in like manner, been reduced to ſervitude, upon the final conqueſt of the principality of Strathclyde; Anglo-Saxons who had been reduced to the ſame condition, upon the conqueſt of the northern diviſion of the Northumbrian kingdom, by the Picts, Scots, and Galwegians; Scots reduced to ſlavery, in the Weſtern Iſles, by the conqueſts of the Norwegians,—and Norwegians humbled to the ſame ſtate, when thoſe Iſles were again ceded to the Scots; with the priſoners,

* L. L. Dav. I. Lib. II. C. 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 41. Lib. IV. C. 12. —Watſii in Matth. Paris, Gloſſar. Cragii Jus Feud. L. II. Dieg. 13.

priſoners, whether Norwegians, Danes, Angles, or Normans, who had been from time to time, gained among the ſpoils of war. They were always unarmed. They lived, as a better ſort of cattle, upon the eſtates of their lords. They were confined to the territory, and were transferable from maſter to maſter, with it. Upon all eſtates, not poſſeſſed by *Soc-co-men*, or *Ceorles*, the ruſtic labour was performed by the *villains* or bondmen alone. Their lives were protected by the laws; but, in almoſt all other reſpects, they were left at the mercy of their maſters. It was a mitigation of the miſery of a bondman, when he was not attached by ſale, to the lands which he cultivated. He was incapable of property, while in bondage. But, ſhould his lord violate the chaſtity of his wife; ſhould *he* be convicted of having wounded the bondman, on the upper part of his head; ſhould he refuſe to ſupport his bondman under accuſation for a crime, and the bondman obtain his acquittal without his maſter's aid; in all theſe caſes, the bondman recovered his freedom. Every free man might, with the conſent of the King, ſet any of his own bondmen at liberty. A bondman alſo recovered his liberty, after living in unqueſtioned freedom, although that freedom ſhould not have been, at firſt, legally acquired,—upon any eſtate in the country for ſeven years,—within any burgh, for a year and a day. Promotion to holy orders,

Sec. II. orders, under certain reſtrictions, had the ſame effect upon the condition of a bondman, as formal manumiſſion *.

Socco-man or Ceorle.

The *Socco-man*, the ſame as the Anglo-Saxon *Ceorle*, held his lands from ſome *Over-Lord*, for a definite term of years, *or for* perpetuity, upon the condition of paying a certain annual rent, in labour and in the produce of his lands, or perhaps in money. This order of Landholders had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon ſyſtem of ſocial order. As the Norman feodiſm obtained a full eſtabliſhment in Scotland, this ſpecies of the tenure of lands, appears to have fallen into diſguiſe. Yet, having been once eſtabliſhed, it could not be wholly aboliſhed. But, the *Soccage*-tenants either roſe to the dignity of military tenure, or in the gradual emancipation of the *villains* or bondmen, came to be confounded with them. The inheritance in land left by a *Socco-man*, at his death, was, agreeably to the cuſtoms and laws of the Anglo-Saxons,---divided equally amongſt his ſons, not inherited by the Eldeſt alone, to the excluſion of the reſt. With his rent, the *Socco-man* owed to his lord, alſo occaſional homage, or reſpectful acknowledgment of his ſuperiority: and his lord was,

* L. L. Davidis Primi, Lib. II. C. 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.

was, on the other hand, naturally obliged to afford him armed protection againſt his enemies *. Sec. II.

Military vaſſals.

The greater number of the free ſubjects were, vaſſals of the crown, or of ſome one or other of its immediate vaſſals, holding by *military tenure*. Only, this ſpecies of tenure was ſtrictly feudal. The vaſſal, whether in the caſe of grant, or in that of ſucceſſion, received enfeoffment or inveſtiture from his over-lord. He did homage to his lord, upon the occaſion; kneeling before him, putting his hands into *his*, and promiſing obedience and faithful ſervice. While he continued faithful to his engagements, he not only preſerved the poſſeſſion of his fief, but was under his lord's protection againſt all hoſtility. For a certain extent of land he was obliged to furniſh to his lord, a *knight*,—or a warriour, full-armed, and mounted on horſeback, to ſerve for a certain number of days together, at the expence, not of the lord, but of the feudal tenant, by whom the knight was equipped and ſent out. His lands were forfeited by diſobedience or neglect. At his death they could be inherited only by an heir perſonally qualified to diſcharge the duties of the military tenure. A Minor was ſubject to the tutelage of his over-lord, till he ſhould acquire a right to the full ſucceſſion to his immediate predeceſſor, in



* L. L. Dav. I. Lib. II. C. 21, 27, &c.

Sec. II. conſequence of having attained to the age of majority. A ſum, whether in money, or in any other form of value, was always to be contributed to the ſuperior lord, at the time of obtaining inveſtiture in a fief, in conſequence of hereditary ſucceſſion to it. All the free men in the kingdom, except the king alone, were under vaſſalage. The Anglo-Saxon Thane, or military landholder, obtaining firſt, rather the name of *Lord*, and afterwards from the Normans, that of *Baron*, was now, in the middle rank of the immediate vaſſals of the crown. Of theſe the loweſt were ſimple *knights*,---perſons holding by military tenure, juſt that quantity of land which was eſteemed ſufficient to enable the perſon by whom it was held, to furniſh to the wars of his ſuperior lord, a ſingle warriour full-armed, and mounted on horſeback. Theſe knights by their tenure, were not, however, knights in military dignity, till their valour, truth, and generous activity, had been formally recognized, as entitling them, not leſs than their equipment or poſſeſſions, to the honours of the knightly character. The *Count* of France, Italy, and Germany; the *Alderman* of the Anglo-Saxons; the *Iarl* of the Danes; were originally perſons poſſeſſing large fiefs, and acting at the ſame time under the Emperor or King, as governors both military and civil, of diſtricts or provinces. Only the dignity of *Iarl* from among theſe three

three, obtained admiſſion into Scotland. Its introduction was in this period. The *Earl* was the higheſt dignity of the vaſſals of the crown, which was not incommunicable to many together. The other diſtinctions of the immediate vaſſals of the King, were thoſe which they poſſeſſed, as officers in his houſhold; Chamberlain, Juſticiary, Door-ward, Conſtable, Marſhal.---Beſide the advantages of *wardſhip* and *relief*, military ſervice, and forfeiture; the ſuperior lord, was authorized to aſk pecuniary aid from his vaſſals, in order to furniſh a marriage-portion to his eldeſt daughter, or to defray the expences which attended the inveſtiture of his eldeſt ſon with the honours of knighthood *. Sec. II.

The Clergy.

THE *Clergy* held the greater part of their poſſeſſions in land, by the tenure of gheſtly ſervice alone. Enjoying particular benefices, they were obliged to enlighten and direct the devotion of the inhabitants of certain diſtricts. In inſtances in which they had accepted military fiefs, they were required to pay, for theſe, the ſame martial ſervices, as Lay-Vaſſals. Subject to the King and thoſe from whom they held their benefices, only by their relation to theſe temporalities; the Clergy were in reſpect of their ſpiritual character and functions, dependent only upon



* L. L. David. I. Lib. II. Chap. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65,—to 74: Cragii Feud. per totos tres Libros, &c.

Sec. II. their own Courts and Dignitaries, and upon the Pope, a foreign, Supreme Lord. By this ſpiritual conſtitution of their order, and by the ſanctity aſcribed to their character, they obtained an exemption from Lay-Juriſdiction in almoſt all matters in which their rights and conduct were concerned. Thoſe who were edified by their ſpiritual inſtructions, were often willing to take their counſel alſo in temporal affairs. They had vaſſals and bondmen immediately ſubject to them. Having the only learning among them, that was known in the country, at a period prior to the riſe of a claſs of practitioners in the law; they were naturally employed to direct the forms, and to draw up the written deeds, in every ſolemn civil tranſaction. All theſe circumſtances concurred to give them a ſeparate and extenſive, juridical authority in the kingdom. They had a ſyſtem of laws peculiar to themſelves; formed out of the ſacred books of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENTS; the principles of the law of the Roman Empire; the decrees of Eccleſiaſtical Councils and Synods, with the Epiſtles and Bulls of Popes; and all theſe modified by application to the reſpective cuſtoms and manners of the different nations among whom the Clergy of Rome had obtained eſtabliſhments; and thus gradually accumulated into one body. This ſyſtem has been denominated the CANON-LAW. It was the rule of deciſion in all the Eccleſiaſtical Courts

Courts of Judicature. It was peculiarly favourable to the Clergy, in all cases of contention between Clergyman and Layman*. Sec. II.

*Burgesses*---possessing lands and privileges, not by individuals, but in communities, and under a tenure which was partly that of *Soccage*, partly military and in some things peculiar,—formed, in this period, a distinct class among the inhabitants of Scotland. They were vassals either of the King, or of Lords, holding from him. The burghs of both England and Scotland, appear to have been of Anglo-Saxon origin. Trade first, and next mechanical industry, and the cares of defence, assembled and established citizens together in towns, under the Anglo-Saxon governments. Under these governments, the towns or burghs did not, however, form communities of a distinct and peculiar character, with a particular species of administration, differing in nature from that of the shires within which they stood. They composed merely parts of the same system of simple, unbroken, civil arrangement, with the shires. But, as the original Anglo-Saxon government declined into feodism, the inhabitants of the burghs retained, with little variation, their primitive forms of union and magistracy. Burgesses.

Hence

* Fordun. et Major, *passim*: Spottiswood's History; Keith's Catalogue, &c.

SEC. II. Hence the difference which, after the full eſtabliſhment of the Norman feodiſm in Britain, appeared to diſtinguiſh the ſtructure of the government of the counties from that of the burghs. It ſhould ſeem that the firſt burghs in Scotland, might have their origin at a time prior to the ſupplantation of the Anglo-Savon policy, by the Norman. If later, yet there was no other model, than the Anglo-Saxon, to be imitated in their inſtitution. The *merchants*, the claſs of men who appear to have firſt enjoyed burgh privileges under the feudal government of Scotland, compoſed a *Guild*. Being accounted in the ſtate, not Soldiers, Clergymen, or Huſbandmen, but Traders; they were required to pay their contributions to their ſuperior lord, not in military ſervice, in religious conſolation and inſtruction, or in proviſions, the produce of the ſoil, but in money, the grand inſtrument of merchandiſe. Artiſans chiefly, as it ſhould ſeem, from among the Bondmen, were, by degrees, intermixed with the merchants in the burghs, and obtained a participation in the ſame lands and privileges. As lands were, in the flouriſhing period of the feudal ſyſtem, rarely held by the tenure of pure ſoccage; and as military fiefs were ſometimes annexed to the benefices of the clergy; ſo thoſe communities which held lands by burgage-tenure, were generally obliged to add military ſervice, and coſtly preſents in rare commmodities,

commodities, to their payments in money. They enjoyed commonly a monopoly of the trade of exportation and importation for the diſtricts to which they belonged. Their magiſtracies enacted bye-laws, and exerciſed a civil and criminal juriſdiction within the burgh. They were ſubject to have loans and heavy exactions occaſionally extorted from them. Juſtice was equitably exerciſed between them and the inhabitants of the adjoining country. They wore arms, for their own defence.---The Barons who were themſelves vaſſals of the crown, were not prohibited, from granting out any portions of their lands, to ſmall communities, upon an inferior ſort of burgage-tenure. Burgeſſes holding by ſecondary tenure, from barons, ſtood nearly in the ſame relation of inferiority to burgeſſes holding immediately from the king,---as that by which the other vaſſals of the barons were diſtinguiſhed from the barons themſelves, immediate vaſſals of the crown. The privileges granted by barons, to burgeſſes holding under them, were neceſſarily confined to the domains of the baron who granted them. The king might grant to his burgeſſes, privileges which ſhould extend over all his dominions*. Sec. II.

The *King*---was the ſupreme lord of all his ſubjects. To him every individual in the kingdom, owed The King.

* Statuta Guildi; L. L. Burgorum, L. L. David, &c.

Sec. II. owed obedience, in all cases which were not excepted by the laws or by the principles of the constitution. Bondmen, and the vassals of subject-lords, could not lawfully perform any services to their immediate masters, which might prove injurious to the authority, or the personal security of the monarch. Rebellion against the king, instantly liberated the servants and dependents of the rebel, from every duty which they might otherwise have been bound to pay to him. Not only the immediate domains of the crown, but the whole territory of the kingdom, except that which was consecrated to the service of religion and its ministers, was ultimately the property of the sovereign. To him every fief reverted, upon the failure of the line of the successors of the vassal to whom it had been at first granted. All profits arising from the distribution of justice among his vassals, pertained to him. All conquests made by his subjects were ultimately his. From him, again, his vassals had a right to demand such protection against all enemies, foreign and inteſtine, as might preserve them in the secure enjoyment of their fiefs, while they continued faithfully to discharge their feudal duties*.

Such

* Fordani Scotichronicon, Regiam Majestatem, Cragii Jus. Feud. *passim*.

Sec. II.

Such is the general outline of the mutual relations and duties of the ſeveral orders of individuals in the community, to one another; as they were defined and eſtabliſhed by the laws and cuſtoms which prevailed in Scotland, in the period for which the national tranſactions are related in the preceding ſection of this ſecond book of our hiſtory.

Duties and relations to the community.

The *Community* conſiſted of all the ſubjects of the kingdom, with their king, living together, under the laws here explained. The common, duties *which all* members *of the* Community *owed to it*, were in general;---*to ſupport its exiſtence*, and *to promote its improvement*.

Slaves.

Although mean and wretched in his ſituation; yet, even the *ſlave* was under the protection of the laws. Foraſmuch then as his ſervile ſtate, under the protection which he enjoyed, and with the hopes he was permitted to entertain,---was better than abſolute excluſion from civil life; preciſely in the degree of its advantages, was his obligation to reſpect and ſerve the common intereſts of the ſtate. Certain freedom and property might well have allured him to forſake his lord, and the community in which he was held in bondage. Hardly in this caſe, would his deſertion have been juſt or wiſe;

Sec. II. upon any other motives, it would have been hienously criminal. The ſlave was not required or allowed to ſerve in full armour in defence of his country *.

Sock-men. THE *Socco-men*, a claſs whoſe diſtinctions and privileges, having originated in the Anglo-Saxon times, were neceſſarily maintained even under the Norman feodiſm, by the ſtate of huſbandry, and the indiſpenſible demands for its productions;—appear to have enjoyed, at leaſt nominally, the happieſt condition in the ſtate. But, being unarmed and defenceleſs, they were ſubject to oppreſſion and exactions. In an age in which force too often trampled upon all laws and rights; the labours and property of the huſbandman were extremely inſecure. But, they were freemen, and capable of holding property in land and things moveable; therefore, their inviolable fealty was due to the Community in which they enjoyed thoſe advantages. Beſide that homage, ſervice, and rent which they were obliged to pay to the Superior Lords from whom they held their lands; the *Socco-men* appear to have been likewiſe bound to ſerve the community, as in the Anglo-Saxon times, by the reparation of roads and bridges, and by making ſuch oppoſition to invading enemies, as they might be able to make, without having been trained

* L. L. Dav. Lib. II. &c.

trained to war, or being furniſhed with compleat armour. In the progreſs of feodiſm in Scotland, the *Socco-men* acquired ſtill more and more of a martial character, and often ſerved their country in arms*. Sec. II.

But, the *Military Tenants* were the ſtrength of the Nation. Their feudal duty—to the Crown, or to a Superior who was a ſubject, required commonly, that they ſhould, for forty days in the year, attend this Superior, in arms, in order to fight his battles. If this period of annual military ſervice ſhould prove inſufficient for the defence, or the glory of the Nation; it was, then, the duty of the Tenants by military ſervice, who had arms in their hands, to continue in action, till the tranquillity of their country ſhould be honourably ſecured. It was equally their duty—to conſult with the King, and with one another, concerning thoſe ſervices which the circumſtances of their country might require, above what they were, by the conditions of their feudal tenure, bound to perform. As civil order was continually eſtabliſhed with increaſing ſecurity in the progreſs of the kingdom of the Scots; private quarrels were ſtill more and more effectually reſtrained, ſo that, when the feudal ſyſtem exiſted in Scotland, in its full vigour; the military vaſſals could have few fair occaſions for warfare, except the Military Tenants.



* L. L. Dav. Gul. Alex. II. *paſſim*.

Sec. II. common ſervice of their country. Having however, no other profeſſion but that of arms; they were ever ready for any military ſervices which their country might demand. In this age of *force* and *paſſion*, little influenced by enlightened *reaſon*, arms were neceſſary to ſupport and enforce every act of government. Out of the military order, therefore, as being at once the moſt honourable, and the fitteſt to enforce the laws, were all the King's ſervants who exerciſed the official government, naturally choſen. They were Earls, Conſtables, Marſhals, Chamberlains, Juſticiaries. Every public office was exerciſed by them; except ſuch as might be accepted by ambitious clergymen overſtepping the juſt modeſty of the clerical character. It was the duty of the military order to prove themſelves, againſt all foes, foreign or inteſtine, the guardians of right, and the protectors of innocence and peace. When oſtenſible public duties demanded; they were firſt to ſtand forth. Whether called or not to public ſervices; ſtill their rank in the community required them to be beneficially active. They were the *arms* and the *heart* of the community *.

Knight-Errantry. From the martial and patriotic ſpirit to which all the better part of the military order were formed by their ordinary employments and public duties;

* L. L. David. Gulielmi. Alex. Secund. ut ſupra.

ties; aroſe the peculiar practices of Knight-Errantry. Superſtition awed the minds of thoſe warriours into a reverence for every thing connected with it. Their character in ſociety, made them, the natural protectors of weakneſs, and avengers of wrongs. Clad in complete armour, they were more ſecure than the naked ſoldiers of later times, from the danger of death in the field of battle; and by this advantage, were rendered both more daring, and more humane, than they might otherwiſe have been. The undiverſified modes of life which prevailed in that Age, left to the military man, no reſources for exerciſe and enjoyment, except war, the tournament, the chace, and the riotous feaſt; ſo that the adventures of Knight-Errantry became a neceſſary refuge from the torpor and miſery of inaction. Honours and lucrative advantages were attached ſolely to diſtinction in arms; and this could be attained only by purſuing opportunities for the diſplay of valour. The captivation of *faſhion* was, at length, added to other recommendations in favour of the wild gallantry of Chivalry. It was, in its higheſt extravagance, a natural ebulition of that public ſpirit, with which it was neceſſary, that the military orders ſhould be inſpired, for the diſcharge of thoſe duties which the form of Government exacted from them, to the Community *. SEC. II.

THE

* Fordun: Matth. Paris. *paſſim*, &c.

Sec. II. Burgeſſes.

The firſt duty of the *Burgeſſes*, to the ſtate, was, honeſt induſtry in their labours and trade. It became them, next, to diſcharge faithfully thoſe rents and ſervices for which they held their burgh-lands, and privileges. To maintain the Conſtitution and the Rights of their reſpective burghs, was their next public duty. The fourth was, to conſult with the King, and the reſt of his free-vaſſals, concerning thoſe ſervices which, although not fixed by the terms of their tenure, might, however, be occaſionally neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom, or the ſupport of internal order within its territories. Having acknowledged the neceſſity of ſuch extraordinary ſervices, and having agreed concerning the proportion and the manner in which they were to be performed; it was then their buſineſs to diſcharge them, with willing activity*.

The Clergy.

The *Clergy* were, upon all occaſions, called in, as public Counſellors. It was their duty to ſupport and protect the general welfare of the Nation by bleſſings, prayers, inſtructions, imprecations, and all the arms with which they were furniſhed by the ſuperſtitious religion of the Age. Where the duties of the Clergy to the Nation, might ſeem to interfere with their ſpiritual allegiance to the Pope; they were unfortunately obliged to forget the Scotchman

* L. L. Burgorum; Statua Guildi.

man in the Prieſt. What was frequently not leſs diſadvantageous to the State; many of the richeſt beneficiaries were often foreigners. Prelates holding fiefs by military tenure, owed the ſame ſervices to the King and to the Community, as the other military tenants †. Sec. II.

The private intereſts, and the public duties of the *King* were moſt intimately conjoined. The dignity, the opulence, the perſonal ſecurity which he derived from his ſtation in the State, made it his firſt concern to guard its ſafety, and promote its improvement. His patrimony comprehended, in ſome meaſure, the whole kingdom. It was his intereſt, that all his ſubjects ſhould continually be protected in the poſſeſſion of their properties, and the enjoyment of their rights; that they might thus be enabled to diſcharge the rents, and perform the ſervices which they owed to him, by their tenures. Of the domains which he poſſeſſed, and the rents and perſonal ſervices due to him from his vaſſals, a great part was conſumed in proviſions, and enterprizes, for the national glory or defence. But, beſide this uſe of his revenue; it was his duty alſo to exert an unremitting vigilance, and to call upon his vaſſals to aſſemble and conſult together concerning any ſervices which the exigencies of the kingdom might ſeem to require The King.

† Regiam Majeſtatem. Fordun. paſſim, &c.

Sec. II. require from all; when the rents and ſervices due to the king, as the general feudal lord, proved inſufficient for their common protection. In the aſſembly of his vaſſals, the ſovereign preſided. He was their leader in the diſcharge of whatever extraordinary ſervices, they judged to be neceſſary, and agreed to perform, for the benefit of the community. Nor was it leſs his duty, to protect his ſeveral vaſſals and their dependents againſt one another, by impartial diſtributive juſtice, and to maintain the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, than to defend his ſubjects againſt foreign enemies. If his power and activity were unequal to this ſervice, he was ſtill to call upon his obedient vaſſals to unite their counſels and exertions with his, againſt thoſe who by rebellion and injuſtice provoked the common hoſtility equally of their ſovereign and their fellow-vaſſals*.

These appear to have been the duties which the conſtitution of the Scottiſh monarchy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, required the ſeveral claſſes of individuals in the community to diſcharge towards that national body of which they were members.

Having broken in upon the wild freedom and equality of nature, by the eſtabliſhment of all thoſe artificial

* Forduni Chronic. Regiam Majeſtatem, ut ſupra.

artificial relations between perſons and property; between one claſs of perſons and another; between the ſeveral claſſes of individuals, and the whole ſocial body which was compoſed by their union; it was neceſſary, that the Feudal and Monarchical Conſtitution of the Scottiſh Nation, ſhould at the ſame time, aſcertain the relations of the whole body reciprocally to the members of whom it was compoſed, and preſcribe its duties to them, in claſſes, or by individuals; otherwiſe their ſocial union would have little availed them, and all its advantages would have been ideal, or at beſt precarious. SEC. II. Duties of the Community to individuals.

THE DUTIES WHICH THE COMMUNITY UNDERTOOK, for this purpoſe, were to preſerve property, the liberties, and the privileges, of every order and every individual in the ſtate, from the invaſion of foreign enemies, and from the mutual encroachments of one another;—and, at the ſame time, to enlarge and improve that property, thoſe liberties, thoſe privileges, by every new advantage which *it* had force and wiſdom to acquire and to beſtow.

THE means and modes of operation which the Community employed for thoſe purpoſes, were theſe,

I. THE *King* and the wealth and power intruſted to him by the nature of the feudal governments, The King as a State Officer.

Sec. II.

conſtituted the ordinary means for the diſcharge of all the *Community's* duties to its members. He was the Commander of its armies; the guardian of public juſtice; the *Conveener* and the Preſident of all Aſſemblies of the nation. The wealth, the dignity ſecured to him by the tenures of his vaſſals, and by the cuſtoms and written laws of the kingdom, were merely rewards for his public ſervices, and powers to enable him to diſcharge them.

UNEQUAL, alone, to the detail of thoſe duties, he was obliged to delegate his power to ſubordinate miniſters. His immediate vaſſals were inveſted with authority to diſtribute juſtice as well among their own free vaſſals, as among their Bondmen. *Earls* or *Counts*, and their ſubſtitutes, *Viſcounts* or *Sheriffs*, were appointed to act as Judges and military Commanders in *Counties*, *Earldoms*, or *Shires*. The *Juſticiary* inveſted with the King's whole authority, for the enforcement and the execution of juſtice over the whole kingdom, made regular circuits for this purpoſe; or repaired with an armed force upon extraordinary exigencies, to repreſs feuds or rebellion, wherever theſe might ariſe. The *Conſtable* of the kingdom commanded the cavalry, muſtered and called them out upon all occaſions, whether for the maintenance of internal order, or for external defence. The *Mareſchal* was commander-in-chief,

chief, next under the King, of all the King's military vaſſals, whenever they were called out, to actual ſervice. The King's *Chamberlain* received his rents in productions or labour, from thoſe of his vaſſals whoſe tenures obliged them to the payment of ſuch rents; received equally the produce of the immediate domains of the crown, from the hands of the King's Bondmen; and made proviſion for the Royal Houſhold. The *Chancellor* was, at the firſt inſtitution of the office, the King's private ſecretary; he wrote all royal deeds of gift; gave counſel to the King, concerning the legality of his grants or reſumptions; acted in caſes of this nature, as a Judge under the King; and was the ſole or the principal Crown-Lawyer. All the principal ſervants in the Royal Houſhold, were, at the ſame time, by the nature of their employments, in this ſimple age, Great Officers of the kingdom. Through their miniſtry, the King not only managed his perſonal eſtate and private concerns; but alſo diſtributed juſtice to his ſubjects, and protected them from Foreign Enemies; as far as the rents and ſervices ſtipulated by their tenures, were adequate means for thoſe ends. SEC. II.

II. BUT, the CERTAIN rents and ſervices due to the King from his vaſſals, whether under *military*, *ſoccage*, *burgage*, or any other ſpecies of—tenure, The parliament.

Sec. II. were not always ſufficient to maintain the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, or for the repulſion of Foreign Foes. He, however, could command few or no UNCERTAIN ſervices from any of his *free* ſubjects, of whatever claſs. All that then remained to him, was, to convoke his vaſſals, whether *Knights*, *Sokmen*, *Burgeſſes*, or *Prieſts*, to explain the neceſſities of the kingdom; and to demand their advice and aſſiſtance for *his* direction and ſupport in providing for their common welfare. Thus were the feudal PARLIAMENTS, in their firſt origin, compoſed. Not the greater military vaſſals of the Crown, alone, to the excluſion of the ſmaller; Not only the military vaſſals, excluding the Sok-men and Burgeſſes; but, *all vaſſals of the Crown, holding their poſſeſſions and privileges, by the tenure of fixed and certain, not of uncertain and arbitrary ſervices, were entitled to receive the royal ſummons to meet* IN PARLIAMENT; whenever the neceſſities of the kingdom compelled the King to demand their extraordinary, unſtipulated aid. From this Great National Council, none but bondmen, and the ſecondary vaſſals who held under Subject-Superiors, could be legally excluded. In the progreſs of the Feudal Syſtem in Scotland, many bondmen obtained a partial emancipation, and were upon this, raiſed into the condition of a meaner claſs of Sokmen, capable of property, but ſtill ſubject to arbitrary ſervices.

But,

But, these men were not, by this imperfect emancipation, exalted to any right to admission into the great national council. The force of the Nation being in the hands of the King and the military order; submissive acquiescence in whatever *they* might resolve upon, in parliament, was always the only wise part that the Sokmen could take. The burgesses, being more closely united among themselves; having arms in their hands; and being expected to make their contributions chiefly in money, which it was possible for them to hide from the search of oppression; were more respectfully treated in the National Assembly; and were less easily awed into timid submission. As the Clergy had learning and spiritual arms, to oppose to the rude force and impetuous violence of the military barons; instead of being oppressed in the Parliament; they commonly directed its whole transactions. The idea of regular Representation in the National Council, was unknown. But, danger, inconvenience, the sense of insignificance, or a spirit of rebellious disobedience, usually kept back a number of royal vassals, from repairing, at the King's summons, to meet their fellows, in parliament.—Under these restrictions, and subject to these irregularities, the Parliament, or great national council, was composed of all the freemen in the kingdom, who were at the same time, vassals of the crown. SEC. II.

ASSEMBLED;

Sec. II.

Parliamentary buſineſs.

Assembled; their buſineſs was,—to extend the annual period of their ſervice, if this were neceſſary, beyond the fixed term of forty days; to grant pecuniary aids to the King, beſide thoſe of wardſhip, of relief, for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, or for the knightly equipment of his eldeſt ſon, which they were, by the conditions of their tenure, obliged to pay; to enforce executive juſtice within the kingdom; to repreſs regal oppreſſion, by refuſing their grants, till grievances ſhould be redreſſed; or perhaps, at times, to extort new privileges and immunities from Royalty, by which innovations were gradually produced upon the original character of the feudal ſyſtem. Their aids, whether in money or ſervice, were beſtowed by *deeds of grant;* and then, levied by the King and his Officers. Only by *petition* to the King, or by his unaſked gift, could they obtain the redreſs of grievances, or new immunities. The King *formally accepted* their *grants*, and *granted* or *refuſed* their *petitions*. Theſe were the firſt ſimple acts of the ancient feudal Parliaments of Scotland. The code of the Scottiſh laws was gradually compoſed—out of the cuſtoms of tenure, ſervice, and the ſettlement of differences, as theſe came to be expreſſed in writing; laws borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, by the general conſent of thoſe in whoſe hands was the national force; the interpretations of theſe embodied vernacular

vernacular and foreign laws which were gradually made by the King and his Officers, in the execution of them; with the variations which the whole underwent, and the addition which they continually received from the Acts of ſucceſſive Parliaments *. Sec. II.

III. The only other means provided by the community for the protection of individuals, was, *the diſtribution of juſtice, by arbitration, and by aſſizes.* This proviſion for the ſettlement of differences, Scotland owed to the Anglo-Saxons. During the exiſtence of the Northumbrian monarchy, it had been introduced through all the Lowlands of Scotland, which the Northumbrians held in dominion. Being ſufficiently accommodated to the ſimple ideas, and barbarous manners of the Scots; it was adopted and retained by them, after the fall of the Pictiſh, and the decline of the Northumbrian monarchies. Even the introduction of the forms of feodiſm could not accompliſh its abolition. It remained, a monument of the mode of diſtributing juſtice, which naturally takes place in that ſimple ſtage of ſociety, in which conqueſts have not yet produced the diſorder and complication of deſpotiſm.—In the infancy of ſociety, every man defended or avenged his own cauſe. Even after government had been eſtabliſhed, the neceſſity of private defence, and the rights Juries.

* Fordun: Major: Leſlæi. His. Reg. Maj. &c.

Sec. II. rights of private revenge, in moſt inſtances remained. A man's kindred and friends were, in this ſtate of things, unavoidably involved in his quarrels. The errour or crime of an individual produced family-feuds. A feud, thus excited between any two families, ſoon enlarged its ſphere of miſchief, ſo as to comprehend their reſpective gueſts and neighbours. It would often continue to rage, unextinguiſhed, from generation to generation. The bands of ſociety were broken, and human life was waſted, as if the inſtitution of government had not yet been attempted. It was, at length contrived to ſettle ſuch feuds, not by impoſing an abſolute reſtraint upon mutual reſentment, but by calling the mutual enemies to terminate their differences by one fair combat, in the preſence of the rulers of the community. Hence, as we have already ſeen,* that trial by *compurgators*, which firſt took place, in Britain, in the Anglo-Saxon times. From the trial by the mutual combat of the perſon accuſed, the accuſer, and their reſpective compurgators, how eaſy the tranſition to the trial by *Aſſize* or *Jury!* Separate the accuſer, and the accuſed, equally, from their friends; Let Judgment, not Force, decide the difference; Bid the compurgators on the two ſides, conſult together, in the preſence of the National Government: Two bands of enemies and combatants

* Book I. Sect. II.

tants are transformed into judges; and the trial by Assize or Jury, is eſtabliſhed. Sec. II.

In this period of the Scottiſh hiſtory, differences, of whatever nature, between private ſubjects, might be legally ſettled by arbitration or aſſize, in either of theſe two ways: The *arbitration* might take place without the co-operation of the public officers for the diſtribution of juſtice: Or, where this was not attempted or proved ineffectual,—the cauſe in diſpute was then to be decided by the King's judges, with the aſſiſtance of an *Aſſize*. The aſſeſſors in an aſſize, were required to be equally free or noble, and of the ſame condition in life, as the perſons between whom they were to judge; becauſe if the difference had been to be decided by combat, not by calm judgment; they would have been the parents, the brothers, the kindred, the friends of the two antagoniſts who muſt have fought with them. It is not eaſy to determine upon what principle, the number of the *jurymen* was firſt fixed at twelve; unleſs, perhaps, this regulation of the number, might have been originally ſuggeſted by ſuperſtition; as a becoming imitation of the number of the apoſtles, who were the firſt followers of the author of chriſtianity. All cauſes of importance, as well civil, as criminal, were tried by aſſize or jury. Only the ſentence of *the King's great Aſſize*, the Parliament, was irrevocably final*.



* Regiam Majeſtatem, &c.

Sec. II. Sanctions of the Laws.

For *obedience* to all thoſe laws, protection and friendly ſocial intercourſe were the natural and legal *rewards*. The puniſhments inflicted, upon the violation of them, were, impriſonment; ſtripes; fines; the forfeiture of property and honours; outlawry; death. The formal deciſion of contentions between parties, by ſolemn combat, was not yet aboliſhed. Appeals were made, in various ways, with miſtaken piety, or vain preſumption, to the immediate judgment of Heaven. Inſtances in which the puniſhment of death was calmly and deliberately inflicted, without the permiſſion of an appeal to the deciſion of combat, were extremely rare. The King, his Earls, Barons, and Burgeſſes, had *officers* to ſummon or conduct perſons before their courts; to regiſter the proceedings of the court; and to regulate the execution of its judgments. Actions at law were conducted to a termination, with an union of deliberation and diſpatch, remote equally from the abrupt, inconſiderate tyranny of Oriental Judicatures, and from the endleſs litigation, anxiety, and expence of legal proceſſes in the modern courts of juſtice in Great Britain. But, the ſtrongeſt of two parties would often ſcornfully refuſe obedience to a ſentence pronounced againſt him by a court of juſtice; and the richeſt would often prevail by bribes, to obtain an unjuſt ſentence in his own favour. The expences of diſtributing juſtice, were levied upon

upon thoſe who ſought, and thoſe who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to,---it. In an age of ſimplicity, nothing could appear more juſt or natural, than that they who were benefited by the deciſion of a difference, ſhould pay for the advantage; that the criminal who was puniſhed ſhould make compenſation to the judge who had taken cogniſance of his crime. The king, his earls, and barons, derived a part of their revenues from the adminiſtration of juſtice. But, juſtice was often nefariouſly perverted, in conſequence of the practice of judges receiving their fees immediately from the parties*. Sec. II.

Such is the Outline of the *Legiſlation* of the Scots, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; as nearly as it can be aſcertained from the evidence of written deeds; of contemporary chronicles; of records of law, preſerved in the public archives; of the general analogy of the feudal ſyſtem; and of the circumſtances of honours and tenures, the peculiarities of which cannot be traced to an origin more remote, than in this period. It appears to have been gradually compounded from a combination, *firſt*, of the rude cuſtoms of the Scots and Picts, with thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons; and *again*, of the mixed Anglo-Saxon and Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms, which prevailed together in Scotland, at the æra of the Recapitulation.



* Forduni. Scotichronicon.—Matth. Paris, &c.

Sec. II. acceſſion of Malcolm Canmore: *with* the more formally regulated feudal inſtitutions of the Normans; introduced into England, in conſequence of its intercourſe with the Continent,—even before the deſtitution of the Anglo-Saxon, Royal Line; eſtabliſhed, in England, by William the Baſtard, ſoon after the æra, popularly, although incorrectly termed that of *the Norman Conqueſt;* and afterwards, gradually received from England, into Scotland, in the reigns of Malcolm and his ſucceſſors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.—The feudal ſyſtem thus ſeems to be, in its ſimpleſt form, the natural effect of conqueſt accompliſhed by mankind, ere they have aſſociated under any ſpecies of government more complex, or better regulated, than the patriarchal. Conqueſt upon conqueſt, and one claſs of ſlaves, riſing over another, give it, all its complication of forms and inſtitutions. As it appeared in this age, and in the two or three centuries, immediately preceding, on the Continent of Europe; it evidently owed that combination which it exhibited of barbaric grandeur and rudeneſs, with the names and forms of civil order not unſkilfully arranged; to the ſlow civilization of the barbarians on the extreme confines of the Roman Empire; and to their gradual eſtabliſhment, as that empire declined, within its provinces by the reluctant permiſſion of its ancient maſters. The feodiſm of the Continent differed from that

that of Britain, in the beginning of the eleventh century, only in that the former had then paſſed through a greater number of ſtages than the latter, and was the ſyſtem of the more civilized people.

Comparison of feodiſm with the Anglo-Saxon government.

Between the ſyſtem of feudal government received in Scotland, in this period; and the government of the Anglo-Saxons, eſtabliſhed in the Lowlands of Scotland, at the time when theſe were ſubject to the Northumbrians; the difference does not appear conſiderable. In the former, the King was nominally proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom: in the latter, he was recognized as proprietor of the royal domains alone. In the feudal ſyſtem, he was expected to guard and protect the whole kingdom, as his own private eſtate; In the Anglo-Saxon government, he was ſimply the firſt executive officer of the community. In the feudal governments, the National Council met only to provide for extraordinary exigencies; In the Anglo-Saxon, it ſhould ſeem, that the King could do nothing juſtly, without the orders or conſent of that Council. In the latter, the diſtribution of juſtice, was probably, more impartial, and the condition of the inferior freemen, more ſecure and independent, than under the former. But, the condition of the bondmen was unqueſtionably leſs miſerable under feodiſm even

Sec. II. even in its firſt rudeneſs, than under the haughty tyranny of the Anglo-Saxon freemen.

Religion. Clerical orders. THE PRIESTHOOD of the Scottiſh nation, were, in this period, more powerful than at any prior æra of their hiſtory. Their ſyſtem of religion was a ſplendid and magnificent contexture of abſurdities, and impoſtor-pretences, with ſacred and venerable truth. Some few cells were ſtill occupied, here and there, by the *Culdees*, the ſimple diſciples of St Columba. Foreign *monks* and *nuns* were, from time to time, introduced, by different princes or nobles, as has been related, and eſtabliſhed in abbies, priories, or dependent cells through the kingdom. The heads of the abbacies were generally placed in a ſpiritual independency of all, but the *Generals* of their reſpective orders,—the council of the National Clergy,—and the Pope. The ſecular clergy were deacons, archdeacons, prieſts, canons, prebendaries, deans, biſhops, archbiſhops. The care of the ſouls of the laity, was thus divided between the *Regular* clergy,—ſo denominated from their voluntary ſubjection to monaſtic rules,—and the *Secular*. *Pariſhes* had been gradually erected, churches built, and benefices aſſigned. Kings, lay-ſubjects, or eccleſiaſtics were the authors of ſuch erections. The benefices could not become the hereditary poſſeſſions of their incumbents; but reverted at the death of each ſucceſſive incumbent,

to

Sec. II.

to the lawful heirs of the perſon by whom the benefice was, at firſt aſſigned; or to thoſe on whom the right of preſentation to it, might have been by him beſtowed. Although thus reverting, a benefice, however, could not be diverted from the ſacred purpoſe to which it had been appropriated. Another incumbent was to be preſented, of whom the Church might approve, as duely qualified to diſcharge the clerical duties, to the performance of which, the benefice was annexed. The levying of tithes was gradually eſtabliſhed in favour of the ſecular clergy, by their ſucceſsful arts. Many parochial benefices were aſſigned to the houſes of the regular clergy, upon the condition of their making proviſion for the diſcharge of the correſpondent, ſacred duties. Many benefices were under the patronage of the different epiſcopal ſees. Others were ambitiouſly uſurped to the patronage of the See of Rome. Abbots and abbeſſes were elected by the brothers or ſiſters of their convents; deans, by the chapters in which they were to preſide; biſhops and archbiſhops, by the clergy of their dioceſes. To all theſe elections the confirmation of the King, and of the Pope, was uſually neceſſary*.

Worſhip and opinions.

In the cathedrals, the ſervices of religion were performed with ſolemn and aweful pomp. Prayers in an unknown tongue; the number and the diſtinctions

* Fordun. paſſim.—Matth. Paris.—Chron. Mel. &c.

Sec. II. tinctions of the miniſtering prieſts; the peculiarities of their dreſſes; the ſplendid decorations of the church and altars; the aweful harmony of the muſical parts of the ſervice; the gloomy grandeur of the edifice; were altogether admirably calculated, if not to edify, yet to ſtrike, to ſoothe, to impreſs with religious reverence, or horrour, the rude barbarian mind. Even that multitude of feſtivals, which is pernicious to the induſtry and the morals of a poliſhed and enlightened people, contributed to ſoften and reſtrain the turbulence of barbarians. However abſurd, and however little different from Paganiſm, the worſhip of ſaints and images which prevailed in the religion of Scotland in this period; it was well accommodated to the notions and feelings of the people. Without a mighty change of their manners, and an extraordinary illumination of their minds; they could not have been ſuſceptible of any uſeful impreſſions from a purer and more rational ſyſtem of religious belief and worſhip. The polytheiſm of the Chriſtians of this age, had this advantage over the polytheiſm of the ancient pagans of Greece and Rome; that the ſaints of the former were all diſtinguiſhed by ſocial or aſcetic, uſeful or whimſical virtues,—none of them by notorious and profligate immorality; while the fancied deities of antiquity had generally in their characters, no better claims to adoration, than thoſe which vices the moſt atrocious and

abandoned, could confer. Thoſe doctrines which, in the creed of the Catholic church of this age, had been ſuperinduced upon pure and genuine chriſtianity, appear to have been all derived from an intermixture of oriental myſticiſm; from the application of idle metaphyſical ſpeculations to the ſimplicity of the goſpel; from deceits by which the clergy ſtrove to maintain and to exalt their importance; and from abſurd errors of opinion, into which the clergy were themſelves betrayed by their groſs ignorance. The complication, the ſplendour, the magnificence of the ceremonies which were obſerved, had been imitated in many inſtances from the Jewiſh and Pagan rites. Sec. II.

Learning.

The Clergy of Scotland were not at this time eminently learned. Yet, with them, was almoſt all the little learning which the nation poſſeſſed. They were commonly able to read and write. They were ſkilled in that legendary lore which recited the deeds of Saints, and the innumerable machinations employed by dæmons againſt *their* piety and peace. For the greater part, they underſtood the Latin, as well as their vernacular language. They were patrons and profeſſors of the Fine Arts. In the monaſteries, copies of books were multiplied by tranſcription. The moſt ſkilful maſons and architects were monks or ſecular clergymen. In the ſpiritual courts, juſtice

Sec. ii. was adminiſtered with greater wiſdom and impartiality, than in the Lay courts, in all caſes, in which the intereſts of the church were not immediately concerned.

Morals of the Clergy. The circumſtances of their clerical ſtate, had a natural tendency to render the clergy ſelfiſh, luxurious, proud, and hypocritical. But, the ſame peculiar circumſtances alſo made them peaceable, pious, wiſe, and beneficent above the laity. It is the felicity of the clerical character, that, although it have a tendency to cultivate and cheriſh certain evil habits; it is at the ſame time calculated, in a much more eminent degree, to produce and maintain thoſe habits of virtue which are the moſt beneficial to ſociety. Groſs luxury reigned in ſome of the more opulent monaſteries, and among the ſuperior clergy. A biſhop of St Andrew's took away a patronage from the abbacy of Dunfermline; becauſe the monks had neglected, upon a viſit which he paid to the abbey, to leave in his bed-chamber, enough of wine for his nocturnal potations. Many of the little legends by which the monkiſh writers have recommended virtue and reproved wickedneſs, relate puniſhments inflicted miraculouſly upon the butlers, ſtewards, and cooks, in the convents for their groſs and abominable gluttony or drunkenneſs. Many of thoſe legendary tales are alſo directed againſt ſimoniacal practices,

practices, and againſt the engroſſing of a plurality of benefices, in the hands of one incumbent. The morality of the writings of the monks, is often pure and ſublime, as that taught by the theologians and philoſophers of the moſt enlightened ages. The gradual emancipation of the Bondmen, was owing, in a very conſiderable degree, to the ſolicitations and advice of the Clergy; although more, it muſt be confeſſed, to their ſolicitations and advice, than to their example. The firm, independent ſpirit with which the Scottiſh Clergy reſiſted the uſurped authority of the Archbiſhop of York and the Engliſh church, was ſingularly honourable to them. In the whole, it muſt be allowed, that the ignorance of the Clergy and the corruption of religion in this age were produced in a great meaſure, by the unavoidable effects of that flood of barbariſm which had deluged Europe, and remained for a time, in ſtagnation, over it; but that no other ſyſtem of religion could, in a period equally barbarous, have accompliſhed effects ſo beneficial, upon the condition of civil life; or could have formed and maintained a hierarchy of prieſts, ſo virtuous, although opulent, ſo uſeful in ſociety, although connected with it by fewer ties than others.—It was in the courſe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the ſecular clergy of Scotland gradually renounced matrimony, and were

SEC. II.

Sec. II. perſuaded to content themſelves with celibacy and concubinage.

Fine Arts. The *Fine Arts* were, in this period, little cultivated in Scotland. The *bards* ſtill poured their wild, enthuſiaſtic ſtrains among the Highland Scots. Among the Lowlanders, were the *Minſtrels*, a parallel order of *Literati*, with the *Scalds* of Scandinavia, and the *Bards* of the Scots and Britons, as alſo with the famous *Troubadours* of Provence. It ſhould ſeem, that after the Norman invaſion, the minſtrels flouriſhed chiefly in the northern counties of England, and in the ſouthern diſtricts of Scotland; theſe parts being, of all Britain, the Anglo-Saxons, and their primary language and manners, remained the moſt unmixed. Songs of rural love, verſified legends, tales of chivalry, meagre narratives of wars, and deſcriptions of the magnificence of courts and tournaments, were the ordinary effuſions of the minſtrel-muſe. The *bards* repeated the ſongs of their predeceſſors, or imitated thoſe ſongs in new compoſitions of their own.—The *muſic*, as well of the one claſs of poets, as of the other, was, in its origin, an imitation of thoſe noiſes by which the rudeſt of mankind naturally expreſs their ſtrong paſſions. The continued practice of poeſy and of ſong,

Poetry.

Muſic.

* Forduni Scotichronicon Lib. VI. &c. Matth. Paris, *paſſim Regiam Majeſtatem.* Gul. Malmſb, &c. &c.

ſong, taught the application of rhythm, as well to the one as to the other. But, the memory and the ear alone, could eaſier fix and retain *airs* and *melodies*, without the aid of *notation*; than preſerve long compoſitions in words, without the uſe of writing. It was not, therefore, till after the ſhell, the harp, the bagpipe, and poſſibly the drum had been invented; nor till after ſacred muſic had been noted down, and diligently cultivated by the Scottiſh clergy; that the ſimple *melodies* of the *bards* and *minſtrels*, began to be reduced to muſical rules, and to be preſerved by muſical notation. The exotic ſacred muſic introduced by the Romiſh clergy would gradually catch ſomewhat of the ſpirit of the native, wild muſic of the country; and would in its turn, communicate an impreſſion of its own character to this muſic. It is not impoſſible, that the clerical muſicians might be the firſt to note down in muſical cyphers, the native melodies of the Anglo-Saxons and Scots. But, of ſuch melodies, none have been preſerved, that we can refer, with deciſive certainty, to this remote period. Of the muſic of the bards and minſtrels, we can only judge, therefore, from the manners of the people of the age, and from the more modern remains of it, which have been preſerved to us; that it was ſimply, *the voice of the ſtrong paſſions ſomewhat modulated by art; or, for unimpaſſioned narrative, the ſounds of ordinary converſation*,

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Muſical Notation.

SEC. II. of ranks which was now eſtabliſhed, gave due ſcope to emulation and activity, in the exerciſe of which, mankind are formed to find much of their genuine happineſs. The united intelligence of all the different claſſes in the ſociety, was far from inconſiderable. As knowledge is enlarged; the ſpring of curioſity becomes more vigorous and elaſtic; the principle riſes to new importance among the deſires of the human heart; and the activity of mind to which it excites, is both in itſelf, and by the effects which it accompliſhes, one of the richeſt ſources of rational felicity. In the mental activity excited by curioſity, the Scots of the preſent period unqueſtionably excelled the Caledonians of the laſt. The greater abundance and diverſity of articles of food and clothing, which the improved practice of the arts, and the leſs precarious ſecurity of life, afforded to the Scots of this age; gave them much more than their anceſtors had taſted, of thoſe enjoyments producing, or ariſing from, ſound health, which conſiſt in the variety and agreeableneſs of bodily ſenſations. Old age and infancy were much more tenderly protected, now, than among the ancient Caledonians. The ſober round of domeſtic life was more regular and uniform than in former times. The religion now profeſſed by the Scots, inculcated a morality more propitious to the happineſs of ſociety, than that of the rude ſuperſtition of their anceſtors;

ceſtors; but was leſs favourable than the latter, to wild, intemperate energy of ſpirit and character. The time of the old Caledonians had been ſpent almoſt wholly in warfare, in procuring food with difficulty, and in devouring it riotouſly, when perilouſly earned: But, beſide cultivating a variety of the uſeful arts of peace, the Scots of this age practiſed various refined amuſements, which prove them to have been free from many of thoſe anxieties about exiſtence, that render the ſavage incapable of the light gaiety of mind, neceſſary to moderate feſtivity and elegant enjoyment. Martial exerciſes were practiſed, as means of amuſement, when the warriour was employed neither in actual war, nor in the chace. The diverſions of the tourneament,—which was merely a ſportive exhibition of the gallantry and the forms of martial combat,—were purſued, in this period, as well in Scotland, as in England, France, and Italy. At the marriage of Alexander the Third, to Ioletta of Flanders, a mixed exhibition of military ſports, and emblematic and allegorical repreſentations, was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and feſtivity at Jedburgh. Even the Bondmen, miſerable as their condition may appear to have been, had a greater variety of enjoyments, and poſſeſſed life in more certain ſecurity, than the moſt illuſtrious of the ancient Caledonian chieftains. It is true, that the conſciouſneſs

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Sec. II. of independence, which greatly exalts the lofty energy of the mind, periſhed under the increaſing ſubordination, and amid the multiplied diſtinctions of ranks, which now took place in Scotland *.

Perſonal character. The Scots of this age, therefore, enjoyed generally a greater length of healthy years, than their ſavage forefathers: They experinced through the courſe of life, a much greater number of agreeable bodily ſenſations; and thoſe more exquiſite. Their minds were furniſhed with a greater variety of knowledge; their tempers, more ſerene; their paſſions, leſs wildly impetuous; their affections more uniformly kind. The happineſs of the meaneſt peaſant, was exalted by the influence of that regular government, and thoſe ſtable inſtitutions which marked their commencing emerſion out of barbariſm,—above the higheſt happineſs which falls to the lot even of the moſt fortunate and illuſtrious among ſavages. The form, the countenance of the Scot were now, the former, more robuſt, the latter more varied in its expreſſion. The ſouthern Scots were the moſt poliſhed. The clergy, the burgeſſes, the military barons were, in the order, in which they are here named, the moſt civilized among the different claſſes in the community. The women, where exempted from perſonal labour, were more refined

* Fordun. paſſim. Regiam Majeſtatem. Matth. Paris, &c.

refined in their manners, than the men, and not inferior to them in intelligence. Some of the more gallant, faithful, and accomplished votaries of Knight-errantry, were among the brightest characters that have ever adorned humanity. Sec. II.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

# NOTES,

TO CONFIRM OR EXPLAIN SOME PARTICULARS

IN

## THE SECOND BOOK.

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### NOTE A. Page 252. Ancient *Lothian.*

A DISPUTE has arisen between the Scottish and English historians; concerning the local situation of the district of Lothian, mentioned in our ancient history; and concerning the homage which some of the ancient Kings of Scotland, are said to have done to contemporary Kings of England for the possession of that district.

Having examined the evidence concerning the subjects of this dispute, without prejudice; I am of opinion; that the English historians are nearly in the right; that, the *Lothene*, for which homage is said to have been done, was unquestionably *Lothian* in Scotland; and that the homage was, in all probability, performed, as the historians of England relate.

The

The Scottiſh hiſtorians and antiquaries deny not, that homage might be done by ſome kings of Scotland for *Lothene;* but maintain, that this *Lothene,* being expreſsly called by the original hiſtorians of the fact, *Lothene in England,* could not be the Scottiſh Lothian. They would perſuade us, that it muſt rather have been *Leeds* in Yorkſhire, or *Lowther* in Cumberland. BUT,

The *Angles* of Northumberland, from the ſixth century to the ninth, poſſeſſed almoſt all thoſe parts of Scotland, which lie on the ſouthern ſide of the friths of Clyde and Forth; except only the territories of the Strathclydians and Galwegians. Even after Lothian was conquered from them, by the Picts; Anglian *Ceorles* and Bondmen ſtill continued to be the immediate poſſeſſors and cultivators of the lands; the language of the Anglians was ſtill ſpoken in the newly acquired province of the Pictiſh kingdom; the Anglian cuſtoms and manners ſtill continued to prevail in it. After the ſignal defeat of the Scottiſh King Conſtantine, *Lothian* fell again to the Engliſh, in dominion. When the caſtles by which it was protected and governed, were reſtored to Indulf; ſtipulations for the ſecurity of its Anglian inhabitants would aſſuredly not be neglected. From this period, the great body of its inhabitants have ever been Anglo-Saxons.

In

In theſe circumſtances, it would have been ſtrange, if the diſtinctive name of *Angle-land*, had been confined to the territories of the *Angles*, lying beyond the *Tweed*, without comprehending likewiſe thoſe which they poſſeſſed between the *Tweed* and the *Forth*. If the name of *Angle-land* once comprehended, in its general and ordinary ſignification, this territory on the ſouthern ſide of the Forth, it would not ſoon come to be received in a more limited acceptation, among thoſe who had been accuſtomed to uſe it in its former more enlarged ſenſe. From *analogy*, and ſimply upon the evidence of the above hiſtorical facts, we might believe *England*, in our moſt ancient hiſtorians, to mean ſometimes, *all thoſe territories up to the Forth, which belonged to the Angles.*

Direct and poſitive evidence confirms this fair inference of analogy. From the Books of the *Regiam Majeſtatem*, it appears, beyond a doubt; that *Scotland*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was underſtood to ſignify only that part of the preſent Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth. *Lowthian* is always mentioned in thoſe books, as a diſtrict diſtinct from Scotland. Not being comprehended within Scotland, as not being inhabited by Scots; it was ſtill looſely mentioned as a part of England. The frith of Forth, as the great boundary between the Scots and the Angles, was called *Scottiſwath.*

*Scottiſwath.* The *Pentland* hills had, in the ſame way, been named from the Picts, in the progreſs of the Pictiſh conqueſts from the Northumbrians.

The kings of Scotland, at different times, after the marriage of Malcolm Canmore, with the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling,—poſſeſſed various fiefs within the limits of modern England, the names of which have been recorded by hiſtorians. But, among thoſe fiefs, no *Lothene* is ever enumerated. Neither *Leeds* nor *Lowther* is of the ſame extent which ſeems to be aſcribed to *Lothene*, when Malcolm IV. is ſaid to have done homage for it.

Why ſhould it be deemed improbable, that the King of Scotland, from whom Lothian was conquered in the Anglo-Saxon times, might be content to regain it, at an interview, at which he might be obliged to demean himſelf, as inferior in dignity, to the Anglo-Saxon monarch? Why ſhould it be aſſerted, in contradiction to evidence, that, although the poſterity of Malcolm Canmore juſtly claimed the Engliſh crown, or at leaſt, by way of compromiſe, the northern counties of England; yet, the graſping, ambitious Henry the Second of England, would not exact the homage of a young prince ſuch as Malcolm the Fourth, even for a province which, at that time, in nowiſe belonged to England?

England? He tampered with the Lords of Galloway, then vaſſals of the Scottiſh crown. And it is equally probable, that he might, upon any ſlight pretence, graſp at the ſovereignty of the Lothians.

The accumulated weight of theſe arguments, ſeems to render it in the higheſt degree probable, that the *Lothene* in our ancient hiſtorians, was, *Lothian* in Scotland; and that Kenneth, and Malcolm did homage for it to the neighbouring Kings of England. But no homage was ever done to the Engliſh or Normans for the counties of Scotland, lying beyond the Forth. And ſince the days of Malcolm Canmore, the Scottiſh Kings have ever had a juſter title to the Engliſh throne, than the Norman Princes of England could acquire to the feudal ſovereignty of Scotland.

Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtica, Lib. I. II:—Forduni. Scotichronicon, Lib. V. Regiam Majeſtatem, L. L. Davidis, I. Lib. I. C. 17, &c. &c.—Lyttleton's Hiſt. of Henry II. Vol. III.—Dalrymple's Remarks upon the Hiſtory of Scotland, Chap. II. P. 40 to 89.

NOTE B. Page 295.

I HAVE not ventured to inſert *Lothian* in the text, among the names of the territories, for which Malcolm did homage to Henry. An opinion in which I am ſupported by no other Scottiſh writer, was rather to be propoſed, than to be aſſumed as an hiſtorical

rical fact; ſince I had only probable and plauſible, not abſolutely demonſtrative evidence to produce in ſupport of it.

NOTE C. Page 313.

PERTH is unqueſtionably one of the moſt ancient towns in Scotland. Some Roman ſtations appear to have ſtood upon the rivers Almond and Tay, at the diſtance of ſeveral miles above the ſituation of the preſent town. But, whatever may be fabled by lying hiſtorians, or vainly fancied by too credulous Antiquarians; we *have no evidence, either of records, or of monuments*, from which we can conclude; that a Scottiſh town, the anceſtor of the preſent Perth, ever ſtood nearly upon the confluence of the Almond and Tay.

After *Scone* had become a ſeat of the *Culdees* and of the Kings of Scotland; a bridge ſeems to have been conſtructed for a paſſage over the Tay, contiguous to the ſituation of the preſent town of Perth. The concourſe to the bridge; the ſanctity of the neighbouring monks at Scone; the protection afforded by the vicinity of the royal reſidence; the abundance of fiſhes in the river; and the fertility of the adjacent plains; ſeem to have firſt invited the ſettlement of a community of inhabitants at Perth, at a period certainly not later than the be-

ginning of the tenth century. But it is not probable that Perth was formally erected into a *Burgh*, before the acceſſion at leaſt of Malcolm Canmore.

THE burgh of DUNDEE was not of earlier origin than the end of the eleventh century. Not having been, at firſt, a royal burgh; it fell to the crown, in inheritance from David Earl of Huntington.

The Burghs of BERWICK, ROXBURGH, HADDINGTON, EDINBURGH, STIRLING, LINLITHGOW, and LANERK appear to have enjoyed Burgh-privileges in the days of King David the Firſt.

See Cant's Muſe's Threnodie, Vol. I. P. 24. Vol. II. P. 112,—Pordun. VIII. 73. L. L. Burgorum, &c.

NOTE D. Page 334.

FROM the time of the conqueſt of the Hebudæ, by the Danes and Norwegians; the church of the Iſles had been detached from that of Scotland. After the converſion of the Danes to chriſtianity, and their compleat conqueſt as well of the Hebudæ and Man, as of the Orkneys and Shetlands; theſe iſles were all divided into two biſhoprics; one of which was named the Biſhopric of the Orkneys or North-Iſles; the other that of the *Sodor-eys* (Southern Iſles), or Hebudæ, and *Man*. Man being at ſome diſtance from the Hebudæ, and being the ſeat of the King of

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

## BOOK SECOND:

*IN TWO SECTIONS;*

COMPREHENDING

THE PERIOD

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF MALCOLM CANMORE,

TO

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

WITH NOTES.

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of the Iſles, was honoured with ſeparate mention, in the denomination of the Biſhopric. The name of this biſhopric has been preſerved; *Sodor-eys* being contracted into *Sodor*; and ſome very fooliſh conjectures have been ſtarted, concerning the origin, and the ſignification of *Sodor*.

See the Article Man in Gough's Camden's Britannia: Pinkerton's Enquiry, &c.

NOTE E. Page 345.

NATURALISTS have declared themſelves at a loſs to diſtinguiſh whether the milk-white cattle with brown ears, ſo famous in Scotland, may have been *Aborigines* of the iſland, or a foreign race. They are certainly very ancient inhabitants of our foreſts. It were ludicrous however, not leſs, to ſuppoſe them *Aborigines*, than to aſſign to them, a recent æra of immigration to our iſle.

That accurate obſerver, Niebuhr, relates, that the famous Arabian horſes denominated *Kochlani*, the breed of which is ſaid to have been preſerved unmixed for two thouſand years, appear to have degenerated in ſize and in beauty of form,—in a manner not unlike, as it ſhould ſeem, to the deterioration of the breed of the Hebudian horſes. But, like them, the *Kochlani* are ſtrong, ſwift, and wonderfully ſagacious.

Niebuhr's Travels 8vo. Section XXVIII. Chap. 4:—Pennant's Britiſh Zoology,—Hiſtory of the *Ox* and the *Horſe*, &c.

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